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ABSTRACT

The study focuses on the obstacles encountered in Sri Lanka during the implementation of a major educational reform program between 1960 and 1964. A proliferation of schools along racial, religious, linguistic, and class lines had led to inequality of educational opportunity, and inefficient organization and location of schools. School networks were consolidated and grades restructured into a first and second level. The experience was examined in five small compact geographical units having urban and semi-urban characteristics as well as in two rural electorates of much larger area. The evaluation is based on a survey undertaken in these areas among a cross-section of headmasters, teachers, and parents, and on the author's assessments. In the first chapter evolution of policy on school location is traced, the accumulation of problems is described and the reform proposals are examined. In the second chapter, an overview of the main findings and conclusions with regard to implementation problems are given. In the third and final chapter the details of the seven case studies are set out. (Author/MLF)

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ED141884

Planning the location of schools : case studies 10

Sri Lanka

Ananda W. P. Gurugé
in co-operation with K. D. Ariyadasa

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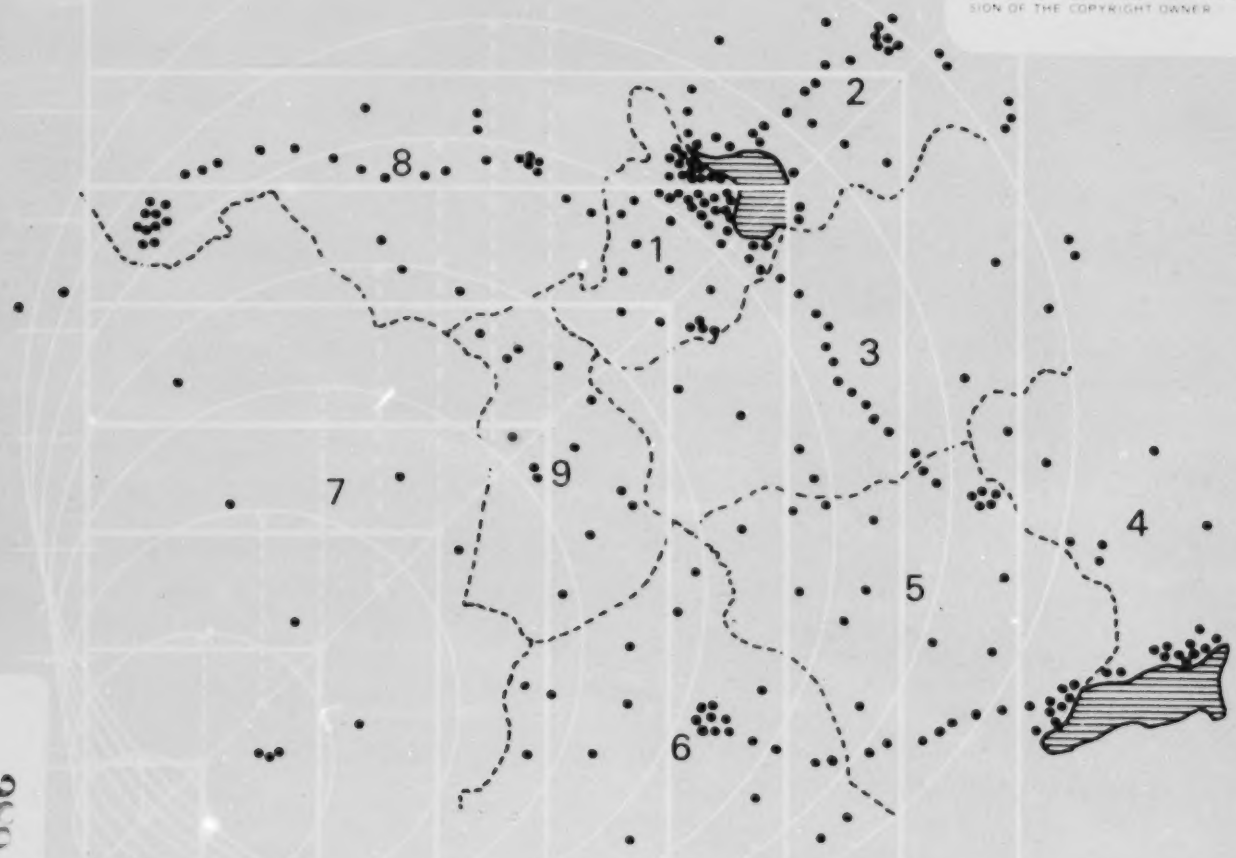

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An IIEP research project directed by Jacques Hallak

Planning the location of schools:

Sri Lanka

Ananda W.P. Gurugé
in co-operation with K.D. Ariyadasa

Paris 1977
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Aims and methodology of the IIEP research project on planning the location of schools

As part of the Second United Nations Development Decade, many countries have set themselves the target of providing complete first-level school coverage, or at least of substantially extending their first-level school networks, together with a major development of the network of second-level schools. Achieving these targets in practice will involve them in finding solutions to the many awkward problems which arise in setting up the network of first- and second-level schools; in other words, they will need to develop the most appropriate methods for planning the location of schools.

The International Institute for Educational Planning had these problems in view when, towards the end of 1970, it began a series of investigations into the planning of first- and second-level school location; this was research of a clearly practical kind, meeting a concrete need of most Member States; a typical example of the kind of applied research which the Institute can undertake to assist Unesco Member States in implementing their educational plans and making optimum use of the resources available. Its objective is threefold:

1. To analyse and identify all the factors - pedagogical, economic, geographical, social, administrative, political, etc. - which must be taken into account in designing a methodology for planning the location of schools;
2. to formulate such a methodology in sufficient detail to be used as a guide to school location activities in Member States, while being sufficiently flexible and universal to be adaptable to the particular conditions of each country;
3. to apply the methodology to concrete problems facing education planners, such as universal first-level education, implementation of educational reforms, etc.

The IIEP began with a number of case studies in a sample, as varied as possible, of countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. These studies were carried out in the field with the close collaboration of the national authorities and comprised the following specific stages:

1. A critical analysis of the features of the existing network of first- and/or second-level schools, according to the purpose of the study, in one or more educational areas of 50 000 to 200 000 inhabitants, selected for the variety of problems they exhibited;
2. a study of the medium-term evolution of the potential school population, taking account of demographic factors, the educational objectives and certain socio-economic variables;
3. proposals for rationalizing the location of schools, based on the initial findings and the educational development prospects, and on all the pedagogical, economic, geographical and other factors of general application or peculiar to the region concerned, in each case showing the relative importance of the possible decisions.

These case studies are currently being completed and are being issued as and when they become available.[1] A report on the project as a whole will summarize the conclusions emerging from the case studies and endeavour to identify the methodological principles of planning the location of schools; this report is completed and will be published early in 1977.

For the studies concerning developing countries, the project has been financed with

1. Publication by the IIEP of studies conducted by outside consultants must not be taken to imply that the Institute necessarily associates itself with any conclusions or opinions expressed therein.

voluntary contributions from various countries: the Ministry of Overseas Development (United Kingdom), SIDA (Sweden), CIDA (Canada), NORAD (Norway), etc., to which the IIEP is extremely grateful.

The Institute also thanks all the Member States of Unesco and the national specialists for co-operating in the implementation of this project.

Preface

The school mapping study in Sri Lanka differs from the rest in the series in that it does not focus on the preparation of proposals for school network development, but rather on the obstacles actually encountered in that country during the implementation of a major reform programme between 1960 and 1964. The assessment made of the nature of these hindrances gives useful insights into the problems likely to be faced generally in implementing school mapping proposals and accordingly may help to avoid or overcome many of them. Thus, the report makes an important contribution to the development of a realistic and practicable school mapping methodology.

The educational problems encountered and the reforms proposed are, to a certain degree, related to the overall problems of Sri Lanka but are nevertheless sufficiently general to be of wider interest. It is appropriate then to mention that this is a small, densely populated island encompassing 25 000 square miles, having some 13 million people comprising three main ethnic groups, three main religions and two main indigenous languages. Some 70 per cent of the population are engaged in agriculture and 90 per cent of export receipts still come from tea, rubber and coconut, whose prices in world markets have continued to decline. This acute economic problem is aggravated further by heavy dependence on imports, low productivity, high unemployment and rapid increase in population.

Irrationalities in the educational system accumulated continuously from the last century rendering reform in the early sixties an urgent necessity. These irrationalities may be summarized as follows:

- inequality of educational supply with good-standard, prestigious schools for various better-off privileged groups and poor-standard establishments for the rest;
- proliferation of schools along racial, religious, linguistic and class lines leading most often to irrational location;
- inefficient organization of schools with small classes, frequent and much overlapping and duplication in the provision of subject options;
- insufficient utilization of accommodation, equipment and specialist teachers;
- paucity of provision of vocational and technical subjects.

Nationalization and rationalization were seen as main thrusts required to meet these problems when planning the reforms. State schools, of course, had already grown remarkably from representing 29.5 per cent of total establishments in 1938 to 59.8 per cent in 1950 and 62.9 per cent in 1960. Rationalization was planned mainly as a two-pronged consolidation and restructuring operation in the following way:

- School networks, hitherto organized in a stratified way on a class, racial, linguistic and religious basis, to be consolidated by making decisions on location only on the basis of equalization of the supply of educational facilities while taking the language factor into account;
- a mainly vertical Grade I-XII educational system to be restructured towards separate first and second levels having Grades Kg-III (Infants) or Kg-III-V (combined Infants/Primary) schools at the first-level and III-VIII, or VI-VIII (Junior) or VI-XII, IX-XII (Senior) at the second level.

To assess the implementation process seven areas were selected for study representing as far as possible the various conditions across the country including differences to a varying degree in race, language, religion, culture, geography and economic development. Thus the rationalization experience was examined in five small compact geographical units having urban and semi-urban characteristics as well as in two rural electorates of much larger area.

The evaluation is based on a survey undertaken

in these areas by the authors, Mr. A. Gurugé and Mr. K.D. Ariyadasa, in 1971 among a cross-section of headmasters, teachers and parents, and on personal assessments made following visits to the areas being studied. While it must be said that the overall evaluation is to an extent subjective for lack of quantification generally, and shortcomings in demographic analysis, in cost and financing analysis and indeed in the nature of the sample survey, still the authors, who were themselves closely involved in the preparation of the reform programme at the Ministry of Education, were well equipped to make a very useful assessment of the implementation process.

In the first chapter evolution of policy on school location is traced, the accumulation of problems is described and the reform proposals are examined. Then, in the second chapter, an overview of the main findings and conclusions with regard to implementation problems is given. In the third and final chapter the details of the seven case studies are set out.

The importance of the political dimension in planning and implementation clearly emerges from the document. In this regard the authors conclude that, given the gravity of the irrational circumstances described, nationalization of the system constituted a prerequisite to successful introduction of the reforms envisaged. The diverse political implications of such a radical step are such, however, that it is difficult to generalize from this experience. Political feasibility is not universally predictable. The fact that the system in Sri Lanka was already very centralized probably facilitated nationalization. Indeed, it is evident that taking such a crucial step as nationalization by legislation must be looked at generally in its political context rather than just as a strategy for educational development and this is an important lesson to be learned from this report.

It is clear also from the study that political feasibility must be considered as seriously as the inherent sophistication of any major reform if successful implementation is to be achieved. Political leadership at national level is necessary if profound educational change is to be effected. If political acceptance is gained at central level then obstacles created by local pressure groups can more readily be overcome.

While it is now widely accepted that thorough consultation between central and local administrators, teaching staff and the public is both desirable and necessary for successful implementation, the extent to which this process is time-consuming and laborious, as illustrated in this report, is not generally realized. Consultation of such thoroughness as was conducted here is possible only through a piecemeal, pilot-area approach. It would appear as if rapid and efficient generalization of major reforms requires not only a decentralized system but also a fairly high level of administrative expertise at regional and local levels.

The importance of public information, of the mass media and of local leadership for example, in implementing reforms is highlighted in the report. Often the very exercise of articulating reform proposals and informing the public of them helped to make explicit objectives which hitherto remained implicit and aroused wide public interest in educational development especially in situations of controversy. In this context the framework within which local participation in educational development can be fostered begins to take shape.

Overall the report will have a chastening effect on those who may feel that school mapping of itself constitutes a panacea for recurring implementation problems. It is clear that while the school mapping technique may provide an excellent framework for the diagnosis of local education systems and for making rational proposals for their development it cannot solve the many implementation problems of a political, social or administrative nature which remain.

Among the series of school mapping studies undertaken, this report on Sri Lanka performs a very important function in highlighting not only this range of delicate implementation problems but also the extent to which time-consuming consultation must be increased if increased local participation is to be achieved. It would seem a corollary that increased emphasis must be placed on the training of regional and local administrators in administrative skills.

Hans N. Weiler
Director, IIEP

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This study was carried out by Dr. Ananda W. P. Gurugé, specialist in Educational Planning and Administration at the Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asia, in co-operation with Mr. K. D. Ariyadasa Deputy Director-General of Education, Sri Lanka. The final version was prepared by Dr. James McCabe, staff member of the IIEP.

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It was appropriate that this evaluation of the 1960-64 re-organisation of schools should have been undertaken when Dr. Badi-ud-din Mahmud, who was Minister of Education at the time, had once again assumed office, and that it should have had the support of the two officers who carried the major part of the responsibilities for that innovative step. With the personal interest taken in this study by Dr. P. Udagama and Mr. K.H.M. Sumathipala, Secretary and Additional Secretary of the Ministry of Education of Sri Lanka, all officers of the Ministry and Departments of Education, field staff members and heads of schools extended to us their utmost support and co-operation. Their assistance was very helpful to Mr. Ariyadasa, who collected and processed the data obtained through several questionnaires and also had statistical tables, maps and graphs prepared in Colombo.

In New Delhi my task of writing the draft chapters was made easier by the co-operation extended to me by Professor M.V. Mathur and Mr. Veda Prakasha, Director and Executive Director of the Asian Institute of Educational Planning and Administration.

A.W.P.G.

Background

1. AIMS AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The main interest in this case study relative to the others undertaken on school mapping lies in its retrospective aspect. Containing an analysis of the actual experience in implementing reform and rationalization proposals in seven different areas in Sri Lanka between 1960 and 1964, it gives helpful insights into the nature of the numerous obstacles encountered and the type of action required for successful implementation.

The principal aims of the study are to highlight:

- The problems created by the absence of a rational or settled policy on the location of schools over a period of nearly two centuries;
- the difficulties met with in implementing reforms and rationalization including those of a geographical, political, social, cultural and parochial nature;
- an assessment of the efficacy of the solutions proposed and the implementation attempted.

In selecting the seven areas to be studied care was taken that they should represent as far as possible the range of implementation problems normally encountered through including those with local variations in language, culture, geography and economic conditions. Thus the areas represent predominantly rural communities as well as heterogeneous and homogeneous urban areas.

Far-reaching reforms in the educational system in Sri Lanka were introduced between 1960 and 1964 on the basis of the government legislation of 1960 and 1961. Especially noteworthy among these were the unification of the system through the nationalization of some state-aided private schools, the rationalization of the allocation and use of resources and the introduction of a series of reorganization programmes in various parts of the country. The impact of these major reforms is however studied solely in relation to the location of first and second-level schools.

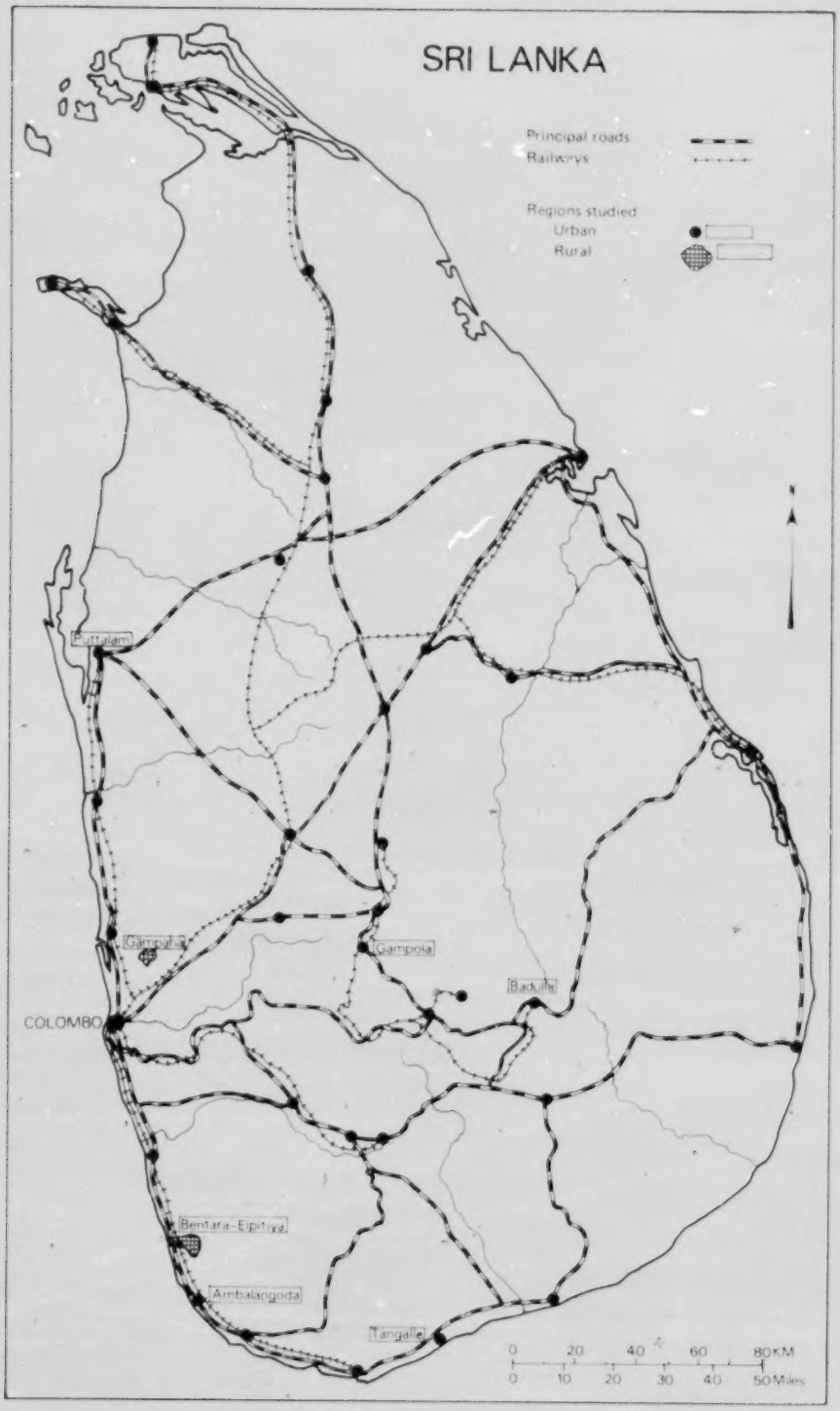
The limitations imposed on the report through the lack of relevant quantitative data are to a certain extent redressed by the value judgements of the authors who were closely involved at central level both in the initiation and implementation of the reforms.

While the study must accordingly remain rather descriptive the comparative analysis aspect as between the seven areas examined is developed wherever possible. In Chapter I the evolution of educational policy on school location in Sri Lanka is described and actual development of the school network is given. In this Chapter too, the accumulation of problems leading inevitably to required reforms is recorded and the rationalization proposals made are examined. Chapter II contains an overview of the main findings and conclusions including assessment of pre-reform irrationalities, obstacles to implementation of reforms, benefits from rationalization where applied and prerequisites for successful implementation. Then in Chapter III, the final chapter, details of the seven case studies are given.

2. BACKGROUND DATA ON SRI LANKA AND THE CASE STUDY AREAS

Before describing the development of the education system and introducing the case studies it is appropriate first to give some relevant background data on Sri Lanka and the areas to be examined.

As may be seen from Map 1 this is a small island country of 25 000 square miles having some 13 million population (1973 estimate) and separated from the south-east coast of India by the Palk Strait. The population may be broadly classified into three ethnic groups speaking two major languages, Sinhala and Tamil, and professing four main religions, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. The average density of



Map 1. Sri Lanka, showing the regions studied

Table 1. Characteristics of seven case study areas

	Pop. 1963	Area sq. miles	Description	Dominant majority	Further remarks
Compact geog. units					
I. Gampola	13 070	1	Semi-urban, multi-lingual, multi-religious	Sinhala Buddhist	amicable co-existence with minorities
II. Ambalangoda	12 438	11	Semi-urban, homogeneous	Sinhala Buddhist	tradition for emigration
III. Tangalle	7 963	0.5	Serves a rich rice and coconut hinterland	Sinhala Buddhist	
IV. Puttalam	13 334	n.a.	Semi-urban, multi-lingual multi-religious, multi-racial	Tamil, Muslim (use of Sinhala increasing)	Strong Muslim, Roman Catholic rivalry
V. Badulla	27 182	n.a.	Urban, multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-racial	Sinhala Buddhist	religious rivalry prevalent
Larger geog. units					
VI. Gampaha	90 000 (est.)	80	Semi-urban, multi-religious	Sinhala Buddhist	influential R. Catholic minority
VII. Bentara-Elpitiya	105 000 (est.)	140	Rural, homogeneous	Sinhala Buddhist	economically and educationally backward

Note: Sources for all tables (where not otherwise stated) are the Questionnaire, Survey and Progress Report. (See Appendixes)
Source: Survey and Progress Report.

population reaches the very high figure of over 500 per square mile but it must also be mentioned that the variation in density for different administrative areas across the island may run from 50 to some 3 000 as this fact has important significance for the rational supply of educational facilities.

The agricultural sector still accounts for approximately 70 per cent of workers and contributes some 37 per cent of Gross National Product. Agricultural output consists mainly of peasant production of rice, vegetables, etc. and large-scale plantation production of tea, rubber and coconut. Indeed the fact that 90 per cent of export receipts are still accounted for by the three latter products whose prices in world markets have continued to deteriorate causing a serious decline in earnings of foreign exchange, highlights an acute economic problem. Other main economic problems include:[1]

- dependence on imports;
- low productivity rate;
- rapid increase in population;
- heavy unemployment rate (14.5 per cent in 1970).

The modest level of economic development is indicated by the GNP per capita figures of US$134 for a population of 9.9 million in 1960

1. Jacques Hallak, Financing and educational policy in Sri Lanka (Ceylon), Paris, Unesco/IIEP, 1972 (Part I).

as against 160 for 12.5 million in 1970.

The different areas where case studies were undertaken are highlighted in Map 1; relevant characteristics of them are also given in Table 1. Thus it may be seen that the studies examine the rationalization experience between 1960 and 1964 in five small compact geographical units having urban and semi-urban characteristics as well as in two rural electorates (like counties) of much larger areas. Diversity of language, race and religion in varying degree within the seven areas will also be observed from the table.

I. Evolution of the educational system

1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The system of education in Sri Lanka goes back at least to 307 BC when, with the introduction of Buddhism from India, temples came to be established in all parts of the Island. The temple had since continued to be the centre of learning for the community it served until 1865 when the closure of temple schools was ordered by the British colonial government.

The modern system of schools was introduced by the Portuguese during 1505-1658 and extended and nurtured by the Dutch (1658-1796). The British, who followed, continued the Dutch educational policy during the first decade of their regime in Sri Lanka but soon decided to encourage missionary bodies (all of whom were Protestant Christian) to set up schools and play a prominent role in education.

With the policy of fostering only English education, the government discouraged Sinhala and Tamil schools and for 15 years from 1832 to 1847, such schools were abolished. Later on, Sinhala and Tamil schools, with or without English programmes (called Anglo-Vernacular or Vernacular schools), were started both by government and missionary bodies as a 'means of enlightening the masses of the people'. Two distinct types of schools thus came into existence, namely:

1. English schools - mainly conducted by Protestant Christian missionaries, levying fees and catering for the wealthy and the privileged - concerned primarily with the preparation of civil service cadres and candidates for professions. (The model for these schools was the British Public Grammar School.)
2. Vernacular schools - conducted by both missionaries and government as a measure of charitable social service - providing a literacy programme with emphasis on the three Rs at the beginning but later developed in curricular content to be similar to English schools.

The monopoly, which the Protestant Christian missionaries experienced over education, was challenged first by the Catholic Church and later by Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim organizations. The result of this agitation was that Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims and various denominations of both the Protestant and the Catholic Church were permitted to set up schools on grounds other than purely educational need.

The existence of a government or a denominational school in a particular locality, however satisfactory it was functionally, did not prevent another denomination from starting a new school on the grounds that the religious education of its adherents was not being catered for. Theoretically, it was possible for a village with a multi-lingual and multi-religious population to have as many schools as there were religious denominations. In the latter part of the 1950's, such a village (as shown in Table 2) actually had seven schools within an area slightly above one square mile.

With the progressive introduction of national languages as media of instruction since 1947, and the elimination of tuition fees since 1951, the distinction between English and Vernacular schools was expected to disappear. But when the linguistic and financial basis for the distinction was no longer there, it assumed social overtones: two schools in the same compound, conducted by the same denominational body, teaching the same subjects in the same language for the same examinations were being conducted separately - one with better facilities and university graduate teachers for privileged children and the other without such facilities and qualified teachers for poorer children.

The recognition of schools either on educational or religious grounds also led to the proliferation of aided schools of different standards and quality. Needless to say, every effort was made to ensure that the most liberal interpretation was

Table 2. Typical diversity of ownership within a single village in the late fifties

Type of School	Medium	Grades	Ownership	Enrolment	Teachers	P/T ratio	Classes per teacher	Average class size
Vernacular	Sinhala	L.Kg-X	Government	236	8	29.6	1.38	21.4
Vernacular	Sinhala	L.Kg-X	Buddhist	287	11	26.1	1.00	26.0
Vernacular	Sinhala	L.Kg-VIII)		(185	6	31.0	1.50	20.0
Vernacular	Sinhala	L.Kg-X)	Five	(198	7	28.3	1.57	18.0
Vernacular	Sinhala	L.Kg-V)	different	(114	5	23.0	1.20	19.0
Vernacular	Sinhala	L.Kg-V)	missions.	(84	3	27.0	2.00	14.0
Vernacular	Sinhala	L.Kg-X)		(137	6	23.0	1.83	12.4
TOTAL		65 classes		1 241	46	27.0	1.41	19.1

given to rules and the discretionary powers of the Director were often invoked. One is, therefore, not surprised to see two schools belonging to different denominations, located on opposite sides of a road, because the quarter mile was measured along a meandering footpath from one headmaster's office to another.

The unmitigated desire on the part of certain private managements to create more employment opportunities for teachers of their choice and the laxity of the governmental machinery in checking the rapid growth of feeble and inefficient schools throughout the country made this situation worse.

When the State involvement in education began with the decision to provide Vernacular education 'on a more extensive scale', the policy was to establish as many village schools as available financial resources permitted. A case was once made to utilize savings from other items of expenditure for expanding this system of schools 'until there should be no village, able and willing to provide a school bungalow and a reasonable attendance, which should not have its Vernacular school'.

The condition that villagers should build a suitable school-house was, to some extent, a limiting factor, even though the suitability was defined in rather flexible terms. The following provisions were applicable to school buildings:

'(a) They were expressly adapted for school progress; that they afford sufficient accommodation and were in good repair at the time of the examination;

(b) they were not surrounded by other buildings to such an extent as to exclude light and air and particular regard was paid to health, cleanliness both in the persons of the pupils and the arrangements of conditions of the school premises.'

The political changes of the early thirties had a tremendous impact on the school system. With the introduction of universal adult franchise and territorial representation in the State Council and the assumption of direct administrative control by a National Board of Ministers, a rapid improvement took place of utility services and facilities, provided by the State to rural communities. It was natural that educational facilities were assigned a very high priority.

Rapidly, the State system of schools, which had lagged behind the private aided system, began not only to expand in quantity but also to record significant improvement in quality. The State, which had so far been concerned primarily with Vernacular education, extended its interest to English education in rural areas. Secondary schools providing English-medium education, called Central Schools (in Sinhala: Madhya Maha Vidyalaya) were established in central locations not served by private English schools. Expansion of the State system is shown in Table 3.

New trends in the creation and location of schools and in enrolment growth began in 1956. Annual increase in enrolment which was previously about 4 per cent was now much higher as shown in Table 4.

To accommodate increasing enrolments certain incentives were publicly offered with invitations for the donation of land and buildings as follows:

(a) The sponsors had to start a school and run it for some time before it was offered to the Government.

(b) The minimum acceptable offer was a quarter of an acre of land and a building serviceable for five years.

(c) The approval of the site or the school

Photo: Unesco/Paul Almasy

Sri Lanka: recreation time in a large urban school.

Photo: Unesco/Paul Almasy

Sri Lanka: outdoor class in a typical rural school.

Photo: Unesco/Paul Almasy

Sri Lanka: multi-grade classroom in a village school.

Table 3. Growth of State schools, 1830 to 1960

Year	Government schools		Private aided schools		% Private out of total
	No.	Index numbers	No.	Index numbers	
1830	97	100	896	100	90.2
1879	372	383	814	91	68.6
1888	438	452	919	102	67.7
1900	500	515	1 328	148	72.7
1905	554	571	1 582	176	74.1
1910	759	782	1 901	212	71.5
1915	824	849	2 070	231	71.5
1925	1 138	1 173	2 080	232	64.6
1930	1 490	1 536 100	2 502	279 100	61.3
1935	1 560	1 608 105	2 919	326 117	65.2
1938	1 555	1 603 104	3 517	392 141	70.5
1945	2 399	2 473 161	2 144	239 86	47.2
1950	3 188	3 286 214 100	2 139	239 85 100	40.2
1955	3 675	3 788 247 115	2 213	245 88 103	37.6
1960	4 394	4 530 295 138	2 592	289 104 121	37.1

Table 4. Enrolment increase from 1955/56 to 1959/60

	1955/56	1956/57	1957/58	1958/59	1959/60
Total enrolment	1 714 616	1 873 325	2 003 044	2 137 993	2 231 096
Annual increase %	-	9.3	6.9	6.7	4.4

depended on whether it was a quarter of a mile away from other schools and whether an adequate (left undefined in most cases) number of girls and boys under eight years of age, living within one mile radius, has already joined the school.

(d) All the teachers, whom the sponsors of the school had recruited to commence the school, were to be taken over, along with the school, and given government employment, subject to eligibility and average attendance of pupils.

Abuses were not rare. Political patronage, profit motive, exploitation of the educated unemployed and such other factors all subscribed to the establishment of a network of schools, the majority of which were not only sub-standard but often irrationally located.

When the policy was ultimately abandoned around 1962, there were 801 such schools yet to be absorbed along with teachers, into the state system of schools. But the problem is still not fully resolved. Not much effort was necessary to add a new school to the list of 'pending take-over cases'. What began as a desirable measure of inducing public support to the expansion of the school system has thus

degenerated into a short-cut to employment as government teachers.

Thus the increase of 857 government schools from 1956 to 1961, only added to the problem of irrationally located, substandard and functionally unsuitable schools.

2. LEGAL BASIS

Legal provisions applicable to location of schools were dictated by requirements for recognition of schools for grant purposes. Thus in the very early Codes of Regulation for Aided Schools, a boys' school was not recognized for grant if there was another 'flourishing' boys' school within two miles without an intervening obstacle unless the new school had an average attendance of more than 60. Later this stipulation was made applicable to all schools.

The increasing demand for new schools - caused by the religious rivalries of the second half of the nineteenth century - and the economic depression of 1878-87 led to the promulgation of rules which were directed at registering for purpose of aid 'none but the schools absolutely required'.

In a circular, the Director of Public Instruction expressed concern over the 'multiplication of small and feeble schools in districts where the interests of inhabitants would be much better served by a few good schools' (1879). In the wake of attempts to curb indiscriminate establishment of schools came the controversial rule, called the Quarter Mile Clause, (1880) which laid down that the intervening distance between two schools should not be less than a quarter mile.

In due course, the legal provisions on the subject came to be consolidated as follows:

A. Establishment of English Aided Schools[1]

9. Provisional recognition: It shall be the duty of any person who desires to open a school to report particulars of such school to the Director at least one month before its opening. Upon receipt of such notice, the Director will take steps to ascertain if in the locality such a school is necessary on educational or religious grounds. If the school is considered by the Director to be necessary, it will be recognized provisionally until it is inspected and its recognition confirmed ... A school which is not considered to be necessary but which provides adequate and suitable instruction will not be recognized or registered but will be certified by the Director as providing adequate and suitable instruction under section 25 of Ordinance No. 1 of 1920.

12. Distance between schools: No school will be registered when there already exists a school of the same class and grade within one mile of the new school without some intervening obstacle, unless the average daily attendance of eligible pupils of the new school for the previous 12 months exceeds 20 pupils of the same denomination as the managing body. But in any case, however large the attendance, no new school will be registered within a quarter of a mile of an existing registered school of the same class, exept in towns and in such other places as may, in the discretion of the Director, justify exceptional treatment. The attendance of children transferred during one year subsequent to the date of the first inspection from existing Government or Assisted schools within a one-mile limit will not be counted.

B. Establishment of Vernacular and Bilingual Aided Schools[2]

10. Provisional Recognition: It shall be the duty of any person who desires to open a school to report particulars of such school to the Director at least one month before its opening. Upon receipt of such notice, the Director will take steps to ascertain if in the locality such a school is necessary on educational or religious grounds ... A school which is not considered to be necessary but which provides adequate and suitable instruction, will not be recognized or registered but will be certified by the Director as providing adequate and suitable instruction under Section 25 of Ordinance No. 1 of 1920. Before a school can be recognized on religious grounds, there must be at least 30 pupils of school-going age and of the same denomination as the managing body, residing with their parents, within a radius from the school of two miles for boys and one mile for girls and for children under 8 years.

13. Distance between schools: No school will be registered when there already exists a school of the same class and grade within one mile of the new school without some intervening obstacle, unless the average daily attendance of eligible pupils of the new school for the previous twelve months exceeds 30 pupils of the same denominations as the managing body. But in any case, however large the attendance, no new school will be registered within a quarter of a mile of an existing registered school of the same class, except in towns and in such other places as may, in the discretion of the Director, justify exceptional treatment.

Unification of the school system: In addition to political, economic, social, cultural and religious considerations, which very strongly influenced the educational policies of Sri Lanka, an important technical reason for the unification of the management of the State-financed school system was the pressing need to stretch

1. Department of Public Instruction, Code for Assisted English Schools, Colombo.
2. Department of Public Instruction, Code for Assisted Vernacular and Bilingual Schools, Colombo.

the educational rupee to the utmost by eliminating the gross waste of scarce resources in men, money and materials.

Duplication, overlapping and disregard for economies of scale were too noticeable to be left unattended. Further to this defect, there was also the problem of maldistribution of the State funds as far as individual beneficiaries were concerned. It was no longer politically acceptable or educationally tenable for the State to spend four times as much on the same kind and type of education given to some children whose claim to this privilege, for the most part, was that a private management was prepared to admit them to their school on grounds other than aptitude, scholastic ability or other merits.

The Assisted Schools and Training Colleges (Special Provisions) Act No. 5 of 1960 was aimed at only the unification of the management of the State-financed school system. The Director of Education replaced all managers of schools in the country without interfering with the property rights of the owners of the plant and facilities of private schools. But the opposition from certain quarters, which sought to obstruct the Director of Education in the exercise of his power, precipitated in the Assisted School and Training Colleges (Supplementary Provisions) Act No. 8 of 1961. Under this law, the Minister of Education was empowered to vest in the State the properties used by private managements to maintain and conduct their schools. With each Vesting Order, the school became a full-fledged government school.

The laws of 1960 and 1961, however, did not eliminate the private school system altogether. Four types of privately managed educational institutions continue to exist:

1. Unaided Private Schools which did not join the scheme of free education in 1951 and thus have remained unaided and fee-levying. (48 in 1971)
2. Unaided Private Schools which joined the scheme of free education and opted in 1960 to remain private schools continuing to give free education to their pupils; these are debarred from levying fees. (37 in 1971)
3. Pirivenas or traditional institutes of Buddhist learning, located in temples, managed by Buddhist monks and assisted by Government. These can admit lay students who have passed the age of 14 years.
4. Tutories, which are run on a commercial basis, mainly preparing students for public examinations.

The number of pupils in the private school system was quite small and did not affect the main objectives of unifying the school system.

3. EMERGENT PROBLEMS AND PROPOSALS FOR RE-ORGANIZATION

When free education was introduced in the early fifties and financing responsibility for the system devolved almost entirely upon the government, the need to redress irrational proliferation of schools became acute for economic reasons. While accepting the dual system of education then, attempts were made at rationalization. Thus with the re-classification of schools it was aimed to allocate the more expensive facilities like science laboratories and University Entrance classes, on a rational basis.

In this context an interesting proposal was also made to zone all the schools in the country so that each Central school (or English School) had a specified number of feeder schools allocated to it and accordingly served a definite geographical area. Though many years were spent drawing up elaborate plans for zoning, the proposal was abandoned as politically unrealistic. The two main objections raised were that such zoning would curtail the freedom of private schools with regard to admissions and that limited, better educational facilities would be available only to a small privileged group.[1]

As may be seen in the previous section it came to be realized at the close of the fifties that maintenance of a dual system of education led not only to irrational diseconomies but also obstructed equalization of educational opportunity. Accordingly the nationalization or unification of the education system as provided for in the legislation of 1960 and 1961 mentioned earlier, was in effect, a preliminary step in a major re-organization to be undertaken.

The main objective of this reform was to redistribute resources optimally. A widely distributed pamphlet in the national languages explained to the public the need for reorganization. It ran as follows: 'WHY IS SCHOOL RE-ORGANIZATION NECESSARY?'

'A country can spend on education only a part of its national income. It is clear on comparing educational systems of different countries that the future prosperity of a nation is dependent on the quantum of the national income spent on

1. The criteria adopted by the then Director for this 'satellite' approach to zoning are not available. It is interesting to note that the zoning proposal recommended on similar lines by the National Education Commission of 1961 was also rejected by the government and a modified approach was adopted in 1962.

education and on the manner in which such resources are utilized systematically. It is so because education is the sole means for the development of a nation.

Out of the total governmental income of Rs. 1 776 748 993 spent in the current financial year, Rs. 315 862 902 have been allocated to the Education Department alone for the education of our children. This sum of money, amounting to 18 per cent of the total income, is a substantial part of it. So, for the progress of our nation we should utilize this wealth systematically for national education.

Up to 1 December 1960, there was a dual system of schools depending on the national income of the country. There are in the same village or in the same city schools of the same grade close to one another which are established and conducted by the Government or various denominational and other bodies. What is the result of this? As a result of this the expenditure on the maintenance of the school system has increased manifold. The number of teachers required has increased several times. If the schools situated close to each other are all schools with higher grades, the number of children in such higher grades in each school is highly limited. As teachers with higher qualifications such as university graduates are very scarce, it is not possible to give all the high schools the teachers required for the education of the children in the higher grades. As a result of the unnecessary increase in the number of schools, there is a paucity of such facilities as laboratories and libraries.

In some areas Assisted and Government schools are situated very close to one another. In some of these schools which have University entrance classes there are, on some occasions, no graduate teachers at all. Sometimes there are one or two graduates. As a result, it has not been possible to conduct these classes satisfactorily. The curriculum too, is limited to a few subjects. As a result of the deficiency in teaching, most children from these schools fail the university entrance examination. The facilities which can be given to these schools such as highly qualified teachers and science laboratories are limited. Such facilities can be more satisfactorily utilized if such schools are amalgamated. Then classes will become full. The number of graduates will also be increased.

As a result of increase of teachers a fuller curriculum can be provided to enable children to choose subjects according to their aptitudes. The examination results too will thereby improve. The cleverer children will get more opportunities to enter the universities. Proper results will be obtained from the money spent on national education.'

'In order to develop our nation by utilizing the educational expenditure properly and systematically our schools need re-organization'. (Translated from Sinhala.)

While explaining thus the need for the new policy, the Government outlined the steps which it proposed to take. The instructions issued to the officers of the Department of Education, as embodied later in the Manual of Instructions, were as follows:

'Re-organization of Schools

28. Re-organization of Schools: For the purpose of improving the efficiency of the school system and of eliminating wastage of both money and effort, schools situated close to each other or in a geographically identifiable area such as Urban Council limits or Village Headman's Division may be reorganized from time to time. Some of the ways in which the reorganization of schools can be done are given below:

(1) Amalgamation of University Entrance and Higher School Certificate (Arts and Science) Classes (i.e. Grades XI-XII) conducted in Maha Vidyalayas[1] or Grade I, II and III schools situated in close proximity to one another.

(2) Amalgamation of the General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level) classes (i.e. Grades IX-X).

(3) Amalgamation of the Primary Sections of several Schools to form new Primary Schools and Post-Primary Sections to form new Post-Primary Schools.

(4) Formation of Infant Schools with classes from Kindergarten to Standard II.[2]

(5) Closing down of schools that are not needed on educational grounds and converting them for other educational purposes.

29. Types of Schools: Instead of having in all schools, classes from Lower Kindergarten to General Certificate of Education classes, the schools can be re-graded as Junior Schools or Senior Schools. A Junior School will have classes from Kindergarten to Std. VIII and the Senior School from G.C.E. Prep. (i.e. Grade IX) upwards. But the existing accommodation and the location of schools will not enable a division strictly into those categories. So the following grades of schools are conceivable:

(1) An Infants' School - with Kindergarten to Std. II.

(2) A Primary School either from Std. III to Std. V or from Kindergarten to Std. V.

(3) A Junior School either with Std. III to Std. VIII or with Kindergarten to Std. VIII or Std. VI to Std. VIII.

(4) A Maha Vidyalaya either with Std. VI to

1. Maha Vidyalaya means a Senior High School with classes up to Grade XII.
2. Standard (Std.) has the same meaning as Grade.

H.S.C. (Grade XII) or with G.C.E. Prep. (Grade IX) to H.S.C. (Grade XII).

30. Matters to be considered in Re-organization: The first consideration should be whether the re-organization proposed results in the utilization of the existing educational facilities (e.g. laboratories, libraries, qualified staff) to the best advantage of the pupils of the area. The other points to be considered are as follows: (i) The ages of the children involved in the re-organization and the existing transport facilities. (ii) The classroom accommodation, playground and other facilities available in the schools. (iii) Staff involved. (iv) The location of each type of school (whether centrally situated). (v) The status of each school and the examination results of each. (vi) The educational needs of the area.

31. Amalgamation, Separation and Closure of Schools: Proposals for amalgamation, separation or closure of schools, necessitated by re-organization, should be forwarded by the Circuit Inspector to the Assistant Director/Education Officer of the area. Such proposals should be accompanied by a sketch map indicating distances from school to school, statistics relating to the accommodation, number of pupils and qualifications of the teachers. The Assistant Director/Education Officer should obtain the views of the Local Advisory Committee and/or Member of Parliament and forward the proposals to the Director of Education/Government Schools Administration.

32. Approval of the Minister: All proposals for re-organization should be approved by the Minister of Education before they are implemented.

33. Report on re-organized Schools:

(a) A report should be sent to all branches in the Head Office and to Regional/District Offices, giving the following information:
  (1) The changes in the name of the school.
  (2) The changes in the structure of the school. (Classes, Media[1], Subjects, etc.).
  (3) The adjustment of staff, resultant from the re-organization.

(b) The above report should be sent within one week of re-organization. A separate letter should be addressed to each Branch, without enclosing all the letters intended for all the Branches concerned in one cover.'

The policy on Re-organization of schools contained a number of significant provisions:

(a) It was not intended to be an 'once-and-for-all' affair. The school system was to be re-organized from time to time. Actually, this has been done on several occasions since 1961.

(b) The first consideration for re-organization was that it should result in the utilization of the existing educational facilities to the best advantage of the pupils of the area, while the resulting difficulties and inconveniences were not to be overlooked.

(c) The proposals for re-organization were to emanate from 'the grass-roots level' (i.e. the Circuit Education Officer, the field officer who was responsible for the direct supervision of 30-60 schools in an area).

(d) Local opinions and views were to be obtained and processed. It will be of interest to see in the ensuing chapters, just how successful implementation of these reforms proved to be.

4. IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

A preliminary step to implementation was the collection of relevant data on the areas first scheduled for re-organization. The data collected included:

' - factors relating to the environment (natural features of the area, distribution of habitations, population of the possible catchment area of each school, size of school-age population, road transportation facilities, special cultural, religious and sociological factors relating to each school, expert opinions on what changes were likely to be resisted by the public on grounds of tradition and sentiments);
- information on the location and distribution of schools (distances between schools, existing patterns of admissions and transfers, educational role envisaged of each school);
- statistical information on each school relating to plant and facilities, teachers and pupils, administrative and other staff and activities of the school system. No aspect of a school was left unrecorded, for the teams handling school re-organization were convinced that the more and better the information, the better the decision is bound to be.'

Collected data were processed with the aid both of those field officers of the Ministry most conversant with the school systems concerned and as many heads of schools as possible. Draft proposals for re-organization were also prepared by these people generally under the leadership of the Circuit Education Officer and in consultation with Senior officers of the Regional or District offices. With a view to their public release these proposals were further discussed in a series of meetings with heads of schools, usually attended either by the Senior Assistant Secretary to the

1. Languages of instruction.

Ministry of Education or Senior representatives from the Head Office of the Department of Education.

This set of proposals was then published concisely in pamphlet form in all the languages of the area concerned.[1] An officer (usually the Circuit Education Officer) was nominated to give further clarification on request and comment was invited within a specified period. Comments received were summarized and classified by this nominated officer for assessment by a team of officers. Suggestions considered worthy were incorporated in a second draft of the proposals while those rejected were carefully filed with reasons for rejection.

This set of proposals was then presented at a public meeting (or meetings) called in each area usually chaired by the Senior Assistant Secretary to the Ministry of Education who also invited questions and discussion. Points were clarified and uninformed criticism answered accordingly.[2] Prevailing public opinion as indicated by the discussions was taken into account in wording the resolutions of acceptance of the proposals prepared jointly by the officers and the public at the conclusion of the meeting.

The proposals as adopted by the people were then submitted to the Minister of Education for approval. Having at this stage tried to minimize inconvenience caused to any section of the population, the Minister in approving the final proposals authorized the officer responsible for implementation of the re-organization to make on-the-spot adjustments to cope with unforeseen circumstances. The Minister himself attended to make such decisions at the start of re-organization in the first pilot area (Gampola, first case study).

On the specified day, the re-organization was implemented on an order issued from the Ministry. The order gave all details of pupils' movement, staffing and provision of plant and facilities. (See specimen in Appendix II) The team visited each school to deal with problems of accommodation, staffing and facilities. For the first few months the Regional Office exercised close supervision to ensure smooth transition and to detect and correct any snags which might have developed. Fortnightly reports had to be sent to the Ministry of Education on implementation of the order issued by it. As part of the special attention given to the schools concerned priority was given to them in the allocation of teachers, equipment and funds for buildings.

Thus it is seen that implementation of the re-organization programme was started in 1961 on a piecemeal, pilot basis. It is quite fair to say finally, that at that time the government, Ministry and Department of Education officers, heads of schools and parents were rather unaware of the full implications of the programme.

1. See example in Appendix I.
2. Files earlier compiled with reasons for rejection of certain suggestions were found helpful here.

II. Main conclusions from case studies on reform implementation

1. GENERAL

In Chapter I the evolution of the education system in Sri Lanka till nationalization (1961) was examined, development of legislation relative to school location was traced, and the proposals made for re-organization were given. The main conclusions from the experience of implementing these reforms between 1961 and 1964, as indicated by seven cross-sectional case studies are discussed in the present chapter. The case studies are then detailed individually in Chapter III.

As may be gleaned from Chapter I, the network of schools in the seven areas under study had by 1961 become quite irrational in many respects. The main irrationalities may be summarized as follows:

- Inequality of educational supply with good standard, prestigious schools rather confined to privileged groups together with poor standard establishments for the less privileged;
- proliferation of schools along racial, religious, linguistic and class lines leading to irrational location;
- uneconomic organization of schools with frequent small classes, duplication and overlapping;
- inefficient utilization of accommodation, equipment and specialist teachers;
- paucity of provisions on the vocational and technical sides.

These are the problems on which reforms should be mainly focussed.

It is appropriate to examine the nature of the reforms proposed prior to discussion of the implementation method used or evaluation of results. As seen in the final section of the previous chapter, re-organization was envisaged as a two-pronged consolidation and restructuring exercise consisting of:

- a consolidation of schools to align location and supply of educational facilities in accordance solely with language and total enrolment requirements and thereby rationalize networks hitherto organized largely in a stratified way on a class, racial, linguistic and religious basis;
- restructuring a mainly vertical primary/secondary system towards separate first and second levels, having (where appropriate) Infant (Kg.-III) and Primary (KG.-III-V) schools in the former, and Junior (III-VIII, VI-VIII, Kg.-VIII) and senior schools (VI-XII, IX-XII) in the latter.

It is clear in retrospect that the reform originally proposed was too narrow in concept. The approach was rather school-centred and insufficient thought was given to fitting educational supply to the needs of the communities concerned and of the nation; focus was placed rather more on a system of schools than on a system of education. Hence adequate attention was not paid to vocational and technical education or the involvement of the school in non-formal educational activities of the community.

The proposals articulated were also insufficiently quantitative. While consolidation of schools was a major aim, no decision was taken on the minimum or maximum size of establishment acceptable. In the absence of a guideline on size, with no firm decision on zoning of educational supply or regulation of admissions, the reform lacked 'bite' and left openings for much continued irrationality of pupil movement and accordingly continued inequalities. It is clear, on a broader scale, that precise articulation of quantitative norms is necessary for effective re-organization.

Of course, the proposals for rationalization must be politically feasible. The constraining effect, which this consideration has on strictly quantitative approaches, is inevitable. It was seen that an earlier proposal to introduce zoning though elaborately prepared at the Ministry,

was abandoned for political reasons. In addition, feasibility of proposals from financial, physical and administrative viewpoints must also be taken into account as well as divergences between global, regional and local requirements.

A dichotomy should be made in this regard however, between political feasibility at national and local levels. If political acceptance for re-organization proposals is first gained at the national level, then the local political lobbies which must inevitably come, and which are more often subjective and divergent, can more readily be handled. Obviously political acceptance at the national level is more likely to be obtained if the proposals are rationally prepared and presented showing quantitatively as far as possible, the main objectives pursued as well as the benefits to ensue. Of course far-sighted political leadership has also an important role to play; the extent to which reforms are feasible is also related to the strength of administrative as well as political resolve.

2. PRE-REQUISITES TO RATIONALIZATION

It may be inferred from the previous section that rational planning constitutes a major pre-requisite for successful re-organization. In the light of experience gained in the seven areas under study in Sri Lanka it may be added that this should take the form of participative planning. That is to say that thorough consultation between the Ministry and local interested parties should be organized during the preparation of proposals.

Where such participation was successfully organised as in Gampaha (sixth case study), it was seen also to arouse keener public interest in educational development, to forge closer school-community links and to prepare the way for more sophisticated planning in the future.[1] However, the problem remains that arranging such participation is difficult in a country with a very centralized education system such as Sri Lanka was at that time. Thus in a country having 'one of the largest centrally-controlled systems in the world' with about 95 per cent of first- and second-level general education controlled by the Ministry of Education, it would be extremely difficult to conduct direct central-local consultation for all such small-size geographical units throughout the country as those under study here.[2]

Indeed one of the most important results from the preliminary experiences of re-organization in the areas studied was highlighting such shortcomings in organisational structure as over-centralization and a certain lack of administrative co-ordination at the central level (see first case study: Gampola). Accordingly, in administrative reforms later undertaken a certain decentralization was implemented and vertical and horizontal co-ordination was effected in central administration, particularly in view of the shortcomings revealed in Gampaha (sixth case study) in this regard as between the Department of Education and the Department of Technical Education and Training.

In the existing situation planning technicians at the centre often work out targets on the basis of global figures and make resource allocations accordingly while regional or local administrators have no rationale for the distribution of new plant and facilities. It is obvious that other pre-requisites for successful 'participative planning' are planning and administrative expertise at these lower levels. Relevant statistical data must be collected and analyzed by the local administrator to rationally assess the needs for educational development to be submitted for incorporation in the national plan. The responsibility also devolves upon the regional or local administrator to stimulate participation in the decision-making process among the interested parties and thus to act as a medium for two-way communication between the Ministry and the public. Following the participation process he should submit to the Ministry in the appropriate form decisions on questions such as the following relating to location of facilities:

(a) Will the additional classrooms be extensions to existing schools? If so, which schools need them? And how many for each?
(b) How many new institutions are to be opened? Where? Of what size? How is the non-teaching space to be provided in the new institutions?
(c) How many of the additional classrooms are to replace old and dilapidated buildings? Where? Which buildings merit higher priority?

It is appropriate finally to pose the question as to whether nationalization of the education system is a necessary pre-requisite for successful re-organization of an education system which by modern criteria has become irrational. It was seen in the last chapter that the education system in Sri Lanka was almost entirely

1. It must however, be mentioned that 'popular participation', which over-emphasises political applications or is confined to supporters of a particular political party is not very desirable despite the good results, because of its negative influence on the school system in the long run.
2. 'Financing and educational policy in Sri Lanka', op. cit., pp. 54-55.

nationalized by legislation of 1960 and 1961 prior to re-organization. The answer to the question depends very largely on the relationship between the government and the management of private schools. Where a dialogue resulting in mutual understanding and co-operation has been established it would seem that neither total nor partial nationalization are necessary pre-conditions for successful re-organization. However, in particular cases such as this one where the system had grown in a divisive way rather on the basis of racial, linguistic, religious and class differences leading especially to gross inequality of educational opportunity, it must be said that there is hardly any viable alternative to nationalization. In addition it would seem that in such circumstances nationalization was best undertaken as a preliminary step in a package deal comprising major reforms to be implemented.

3. IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

Again the piecemeal, pilot area approach used to implement the re-organization proposals was probably the only viable alternative available. This highlights a universal implementation problem. Consultation of the thoroughness here undertaken could be conducted only on this basis. Such consultation involves meetings and discussions between central, regional and local people at all these stages: (i) data processing; (ii) meetings with heads of schools; (iii) preparation of first draft of re-organization proposals; (iv) receipt and classification of comments; (v) preparation of second draft and its public presentation; (vi) representations to the Minister of Education.

Obviously this process is extremely time-consuming and laborious and requires an inordinate commitment of Ministry officers which can be very problematic administratively in a highly centralized system.[1] It should be mentioned however, that deviation from this consultation process as conducted in Bentara-Elpitiya (seventh case study) was less successful though this may be partly attributed to lack of local administrative expertise in this regard. In any case the experience gained from thorough consultation in the pilot areas paid dividends later by facilitating better streamlining when re-organization was being generalized.

The importance of public information in successful implementation was noted. The very exercise of articulating reform proposals and informing the public of them helped to make explicit to a certain extent educational objectives which hitherto remained implicit. Again the dialogue, consultation and participation as between central officers, local administrators, teachers, parents and the public established during re-organization, stimulated a positive interest generally in educational development and created helpful school-community relationships in most cases. It is also worthy of note that interest is more easily aroused in conditions of social, cultural and religious rivalry than in homogeneous circumstances. (See second case study: Ambalangoda)

However, it must be mentioned that a particular administrative expertise is required to handle the mass media well. Where the media show a very keen interest in education as in Sri Lanka, re-organization proposals are likely to be subjected to open criticism in the form of editorials, news stories or readers' letters. It is necessary to watch for mischievous misrepresentations by vested interests and equally inconvenient but innocent criticisms of uninformed parties. It is difficult to be precise about appropriate action to be taken in all circumstances but in this case a good explanation timely issued and adequately publicized was found to clear the air and avoid obstruction. The same is true for questions raised formally or informally, in Parliament or at local authority meetings. It was found that the Minister for Education must be kept informed of all major conflicts whether of a political or trade union nature so that he is prepared to deal appropriately with his colleagues in Government as well as with the Opposition. The direct involvement of the Minister is a sine qua non for successful implementation of re-organization of this nature.

Exercise of local leadership also has an important influence on the success of implementation. The local Member of Parliament can have a particularly important influence (see first, second, sixth and seventh case studies). It may be said however, that it is not good that local conflicts related to development problems in education should become politicized along party lines. For example, success of the exercise in popular participation through people's committees as witnessed in Gampaha (sixth case study) is somewhat tarnished by the fact that all the members of these committees were supporters of the local Member of Parliament.

In the context of leadership the calming effect at the height of local controversy of the magnanimous attitude taken by the national leaders of different religious, racial and linguistic groups must be mentioned. While not very evident in the cases studied here, nevertheless it is also certain that the influence of teachers' organizations on the success of implementation is also

1. It was seen earlier that this particular experience highlighted the need for administrative decentralization.

Table 5. Ranking of respondents' score for the seven case studies or reasons for reservations about re-organization as against support for it

	Gampola	Ambalangoda	Tangalle	Puttalam	Badulla	Gampaha	Bentara-Elpitiya
Reasons for reservations							
hist./trad. status of school	5	2	-	5	1	3	1
sentimental reasons	6	4	3	4	3	7	2
religious grounds	3	-	1	3	2	5	-
convenience of pupils	2	1	-	2	4	1	3
adequacy/suitability of facilities	4	5	-	1	6	4	5
standard of instruction	1	3	1	7	5	2	4
elimination of privileges	7	6	-	5	7	6	6
others (specified)	-	-	-	-	8	-	7
Reasons for support							
equalization of educational opportunities	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
maximum use of facilities	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
elimination of duplication and overlap	4	5	-	3	4	5	4
economies in space	5	3	3	-	5	4	5
economies in staff	3	3	3	4	3	3	3
others (specified)	-	-	-	-	6	-	6

very great. It was seen too that school proprietors were adept at organizing obstruction by such means as Parent-Teacher Associations for the main purpose of maintaining their privileges and vested interests but where majority public opinion did not support them, their opposition largely failed.

4. RETROSPECTIVE SURVEY

Certain interesting patterns emerge from the retrospective survey undertaken in 1971 to assess the re-organization implemented in 1961-1964.[1] Firstly, the vast majority of survey respondents considered the re-organization both necessary (73 per cent) and satisfactorily conducted (78.1 per cent). Reasons for support for or reservations about the reform are ranked in Table 5. On the one hand a strong commitment to equalization of educational opportunity together with search for economic efficiency is evident, while on the other there are clear reservations on standards and on religious grounds. In this regard because of widespread fears of well-intentioned re-organization being accompanied by a 'levelling down' of standards, early and visible indications of 'levelling up' results can aid acceptance of reforms.

In hindsight only a small minority (6.9 per cent) expressed concern at the loss of privilege in the drive to equalize educational opportunity. But it is the defenders of privilege who can be the most obstructive in the most diligent and ingenious ways at the implementation stage. For this reason more than ordinary administrative skill and tact are required to deal with them at that time.

1. A sample of 523 respondents for the seven areas studied comprised 25 educational administrators of the central, regional and circuit levels, 60 heads of schools, 215 teachers and 223 parents. Of these 88 felt their comments at re-organization time affected final reform decisions.

It is interesting to note from the survey also that the public may be more ready to accept modernization and change than is sometimes thought by central administrators. This point emerges from the favourable attitude generally shown to co-education and the search for economic efficiency, though it must be added that much may depend in this regard on the standard of public information undertaken.

It emerges from the survey too, that higher priority over religious and racial aspects is assigned to the following criteria as indicative of successful reform:

- equalization of educational opportunity irrespective of social or economic position;
- improvement of the quality of education;
- installation of effective devices for the planned development of education.

This is interesting for areas where religious and racial rivalry are generally quite acute.

While data on costs was not available, it appears nevertheless from the above table that better utilization of resources and decreased unit costs accompanied re-organization.

Many interesting suggestions for future development were put forward by respondents for incorporation in future reforms. Among these the following are worthy of mention:

1. Establishment of central laboratories and libraries for common usage of facilities amongst all schools in a certain area.
2. Appointment of specialist teachers in short supply (Mathematics, Vocational subjects, Home Science, Aesthetic subjects) to serve several schools to ensure intensive use of their skills and meet both teacher shortage and absenteeism problems.
3. Increased utilization of out-of-school resources in workshops, factories, plantations and farms.[1]
4. Development of a few schools in each area as centres of excellence while still pursuing the equalization of educational opportunity.
5. Development of the school 'satellite' idea whereby a central school of higher secondary level would be nominated for special development. This school would play a direct supervisory, co-operative and leadership role with respect to the surrounding 'satellite' or feeder schools assigned to it in a certain geographical zoning.[2]

Finally, despite the satisfaction expressed by the majority of respondents the re-organization

Table 6. Some effects of 1961-1964 re-organization

Area	No. of posts suppressed		No. of additional pupils admitted	% increase of school population of the area
	Heads of schools	Teachers		
Gampola	3	13	230	3.7
Ambalangoda	-	-	331	6.0
Tangalle	-	-	125	4.4
Puttalam	1	8	-	-
Badulla	3	-	600	6.0
Gampaha	-	-	4 192*	19.7
Bentara-Elpitiya	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	7	21	5 478	

* In Gampaha this influx necessitated an increase of 6 per cent in teaching staff.

1. It is noteworthy that since re-organization significant progress has been made in this direction first through a programme of Work Experience (particularly the Paddy-weeding programme) and then through the systematic introduction of pre-vocational education centred around and using the facilities offered by Local trades, industries and agricultural enterprises.
2. In theory and practice, this is similar to the Indian concept of 'school complexes' which evolved from the 'god-father scheme' adopted in Tamil Nadu. The Kothari Education Commission has recommended it for all-India application.

experience was only partially satisfactory. In none of the seven areas were all of the reform objectives achieved. There was a high degree of success in Gampola and Gampaha followed by Badulla Ambalangoda and Tangalle, in that order: the exercise in Puttalam may be rated as half successful while that in Bentara-Elpitiya was even less successful. The causes of this situation may more clearly be seen from the details given in Chapter III.

5. APPLICABILITY OF SCHOOL MAPPING

It may be seen in retrospect that the re-organization of school systems as implemented in Sri Lanka is an appropriate precursor to the introduction of school-mapping as recently developed.[1] The reform experience documented for the seven areas studied helps to refine the school mapping approach through highlighting the numerous and complex administrative problems to be overcome at the implementation stage.

The school mapping method in such circumstances forms a more profound diagnostic and prognostic tool on both the demand and supply sides. On the demand side, enrolment evolution may be traced, including the participation and flow of pupils within the system and their movement to various schools whose geographical location and size are also pinpointed. On the supply side, the quantity, standard and utilization of accommodation, equipment and teachers together with the curriculum options offered may be examined. An analysis of costs and finance may also be made.

Following this method re-organization is planned in the context of socio-economic development for the area under study, taking account of the close relationship between the development of education and economic, social and demographic trends. Thus, a certain analysis of the economic and social perspective of the area (including demographic analysis) is made as a basis not only for making enrolment projections but also to align the curriculum with the needs of the area and the nation.

Accordingly, a certain target year is chosen (usually five years ahead) for which enrolment projections are made. Proposals for educational supply (by way of accommodation, equipment, teachers, etc.) to meet these enrolments will include the re-organization proposals decided. The introduction of this reform will also be fully costed.

In the light of the re-organization experience in Sri Lanka, which was undertaken before a sophisticated methodology for school mapping was developed (at what might be termed the pre-school mapping stage), it is clear that this approach adds a new dimension to educational planning. The school mapping method helps, in effect, to bridge the awkward gap between planning and implementation, not only for the rationalization of school networks but also for the introduction of other major reforms and the global application of national norms. Finally, since it is also suited to micro-planning it facilitates regional and local participation in the planning process which was seen from the cases studied here to be very important for effective implementation.[2]

1. See Jacques Hallak and James McCabe, Planning the location of schools: County Sligo, Ireland, Paris, Unesco/IIEP, 1973.
2. See Apperdix III for comment on (SGEP) Second General Educational Planning from: Ananda W. P. Gurugé, Towards Better Educational Management, New Delhi, 1970, pp. VI-VIII.

III. Case studies on the implementation of educational reform

GENERAL

In this chapter the seven case studies prepared on the re-organization of first and second schools in Sri Lanka between 1960 and 1964 are presented. The areas studied are dealt with separately under the headings: (i) background data; (ii) school network; (iii) re-organization policy and proposals; (iv) implementation and evaluation.

A survey conducted in 1971 constitutes the main basis for evaluation of the reform and its implementation; a copy of the questionnaire used is given in Appendix IV. All teachers and officers who still served in the areas together with a cross-section of parents were requested to participate in this survey. Detailed progress reports in the form given in Appendix V showing the evolution of enrolments, class size, teaching staff, curricula, plant and facilities, aesthetic and co-curricular activities, examination results and awards won were also sought from a number of selected schools. In addition personal visits to the schools were made by the authors who, having been associated at the Ministry of Education with the re-organization programme, understood the pre-reform position and could thus rationally assess to what extent the change which had occurred could be attributed to the reforms introduced between 1960 and 1964.

It should be mentioned also that care was taken to give a balanced view of the measure of success (or otherwise) of the rationalization programme. It is considered too that the retrospective judgement given on possible alternative approaches to re-organization may prove useful.

Because of the variety of terms used for schools and grades which are rather special to Sri Lanka it may be helpful before presentation of the seven case studies to explain at least some of these as follows: Schools, College: Sometimes called a Collegiate School is equivalent to a Senior High School or Senior Secondary School and caters for pupils up to Grade XII. Vidyalaya: This is the Sinhala term for school; Kanishta Vidyalaya: junior school catering for pupils to Grade VIII; Maha Vidyalaya: High School, College or Collegiate School; Madhya Maha Vidyalaya: Central High School specially established in provincial centres and rural areas by the Government in a programme to democratize secondary education; Balika Vidyalaya or Maha Vidyalaya: Girls' School or High School. Grades and Certificates: L.Kg.: Lower Kindergarten or first year in school when there was nine years of elementary education; now abolished with the reform from a 6-3-2-2 to a 5-3-2-2 system; U.Kg.: Upper Kindergarten or Grade I; Std.: Standard was generally used in earlier documents for the term 'grade' now more widely used; G.C.E.(O.L.): General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level) for which pupils in Grades IX and X are generally prepared; G.C.E.(O.L.) Prep.: was the usual designation for Grade IX course; H.S.C.: Higher School Certificate for which pupils in Grades XI and XII were generally prepared; now termed G.C.E. (A.L.), General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level), H.S.C. Prep.: being the Grade XI course and H.S.C. Final the Grade XII course; U.E.: University Entrance which is equivalent to Grades XI and XII.

FIRST CASE STUDY

Gampola

A. BACKGROUND DATA

As may be seen from Map 1 (page 12) Gampola is located close to the mid-country provincial capital, Kandy. The community is multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-religious; though having a dominant majority Sinhala Buddhist there is amicable co-existence with minorities.

Situated in the valley of Mhaweli Ganga, roughly 475 metres above mean sea level, this is a medium-sized semi-urban community (Population in Census Year 1963: 13 070). A seat of Government of Sinhala Kings in the 14th Century, Gampola and its environs are replete with historical monuments of cultural and religious significance.

The dominant population of the town consists of Sinhala Buddhists, who are mainly cultivators and office-workers commuting to the provincial capital, Kandy (12 miles). University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, the largest university campus in the Island, is 8 miles from Gampola. A sizeable Muslim population, whose immigration to the central hills of Sri Lanka may date back to the religious persecution of the Portuguese in the 16th century, handles the trade of this flourishing town which serves a hinterland of tea estates. Although the Buddhist-Muslim riots of 1915 started in Gampola, the two communities now live in perfect amity. The Tamil-speaking population, mostly of Indian origin, is a trading community. The Tamil pupils of the schools of Gampola, however, are mostly children of tea estate employees of minor supervisory grades. Roman Catholics and Protestant Christians form a very small - nevertheless influential - section of the town's population.

The area of Gampola and its environs, subjected to the School Re-organization of 1962, was about one square mile.

B. SCHOOL NETWORK

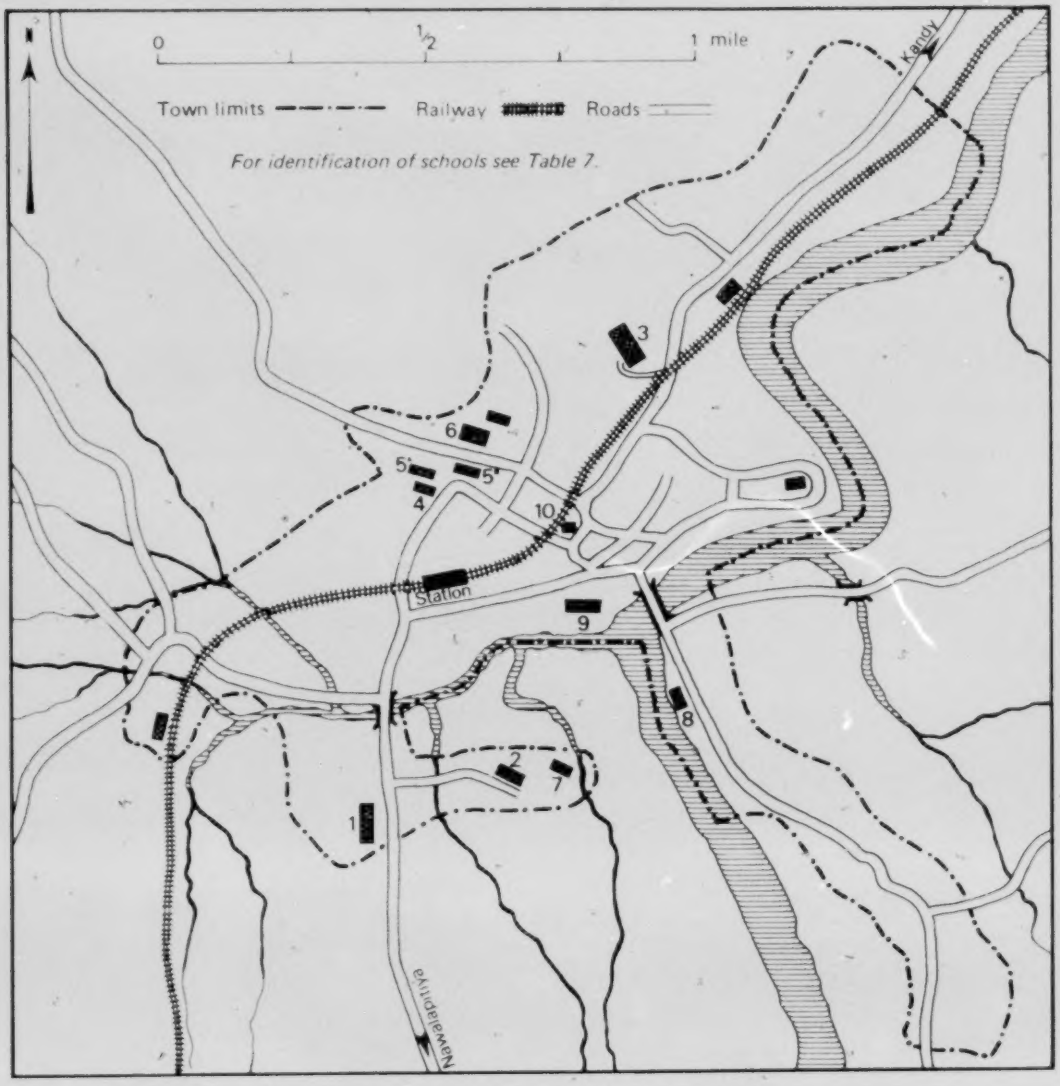
The network of fifteen schools at 1961 is shown in Map 2 and relevant data for ten of these is given in Table 7. The Roman Catholic Church conducted three schools on adjoining campuses; two girls' schools on a common campus catered separately for the socially privileged class (Sinhala, Tamil and English up to University Entrance) and the poorer pupils and the boys' school provided Sinhala and Tamil streams. A part of Gampola B.T.S. (Buddhist Theosophical Society) was conducted in a small building in a highly congested commercial sector of the town. The remaining five schools (10-15) for which quantitative data are not included were of the same grade as Gampola B.T.S.; three of them catered through Tamil for Muslim pupils while the other two provided instruction in the Sinhala medium.[1]

In addition some further information should be added as follows:

- Jinaraja College, an old B.T.S. school located close to St. Andrew's Boys' College (conducted by Protestant Christians) had not developed as planned and buildings started on a fourteen-acre site had remained unfinished for several years;
- Gampola MMV and Zahira College were rated the best developed schools in the area.

The salient features of the network were its vertical organization (first and second-level education provided in the same schools), division along religious and social class lines and the inequality of supply. These features

1. Of these Wallahagoda Primary School has a special position in that its graduates were automatically admitted to Gampola MMV.



Map 2. Gampola, showing the schools subjected to re-organization

are also interrelated. It will be noticed that the schools are not small and this fact is related to their vertical organization. Better educational facilities were also concentrated in a few exclusive, snobbish schools which served privileged religious and social groups despite the obvious need for spread of these facilities. This exclusiveness was facilitated by a selection system of admission in which merit and ability were only secondary considerations.

Inequalities in supply are clearly shown in Table 7. The relatively high pupil/teacher ratios in Gampola C.C. (31) and Gampola B.T.S. (37) are particularly noticeable; it is seen also that these schools fare badly in accommodation as indicated by square feet per pupil. It will be observed that special facilities for science, home science, workshops and playgrounds are ill-distributed.

C. RE-ORGANIZATION POLICY AND PROPOSALS

The main principles underlying the re-organization proposals made were as follows:

(a) Running relatively small schools in close proximity to one another is uneconomical;

(b) segregation of pupils according to social status and economic position of families is unacceptable; schools should therefore

Table 7. Basic statistical data on Gampola schools before re-organization (i.e. 1961)

Name of school	Instruction medium	Grades	Enrolment	No. of teachers	P/T ratio	Total accommodation in sq. ft.	Sq. ft. per pupil	Special facilities
1. Gampola MMV	S	L.Kg-XII	B. 405 G. 376	Q. 29 U. 10	20.02	10 500	13.44	Sc. X, HSR WW, MW, ODM
2. Jinaraja Vidyalaya	S	L.Kg-X	B. 232 G. 127	Q. 10 U. 7	21.11	8 400	23.39	Nil
3. Zahira College	E	L.Kg-XII	B. 858 G. 430	Q. 30 U. 18	26. 8	21 166	16.43	WW, MW Sc. X, HSR
4. St. Joseph's Convent	S/T/E	L.Kg-X	G. 925	Q. 29 U. 12	22.56	10 583	11.44	HSR
5. St. Joseph's Boys	S/T	L.Kg-X	B. 856	Q. 22 U. 9	27.61	11 237	13.12	Nil
6. St. Andrew's Boys	S/T	L.Kg-X	B. 379	Q. 13 U. 4	22.29	6 728	17.75	Sc. X.
7. St. Andrew's Girls	S/T	L.Kg-X	G. 426	Q. 18 U. 4	19.36	5 130	12.04	Nil
8. Gampola CC	S	L.Kg-X	B. 241 G. 195	Q. 6 U. 8	31.14	3 480	5.48	Nil
9. Gampola BTS	S	L.Kg-X	B. 373 G. 329	Q. 13 U. 6	36.94	5 750	8.19	Nil

Notes: B = Boys; G = Girls; Q = Qualified; U = Unqualified; Sc. X = Science up to Grade X; HSR = Horpe Science Room; WW = Woodwork; MW = Metal work; ODM = Oriental Dancing and Singing; WM = Western Music; S = Sinhala; T = Tamil; E = English

become a meeting place for children of all races, castes, creeds and social backgrounds to avoid concentration of socially or culturally distinct groups;

(c) admission should rest on merit and the better educational facilities available at a few selective schools should be opened to wider groups of pupils;

(d) at least two or three schools in the town should be developed as centres of excellence to serve as pacesetters for educational development in the area;

(e) flagrant shortcomings in staffing, accommodation, equipment, etc., should be remedied as soon as possible;

(f) use of language medium of instruction in schools and by classes should be related closely to the number of pupils served;

(g) application of these principles should not be hindered by irrational opposition such as sentimental attachment to schools.

It must be mentioned that before firm proposals were made central suggestions were subjected to the process of participative evaluation or consultation described earlier (page 25). Thus first suggestions were modified several times to meet the rational objections of teachers, parents, religious and political bodies and other lobbies.

It was inevitable too, that while the application of the rationalization principles mentioned earlier must benefit the vast majority there must also be a certain inconvenience for some. Thus the choice of school for some parents must be curtailed through the more precise definition of 'catchment areas' for schools and pupils. The Government also reserved the right to transfer teachers freely and as sole proprietor of schools and their equipment to re-distribute these without any administrative or accounting difficulty.

The rationalization proposals then made concerned only the ten schools listed in Table 7. The remaining five schools presented neither location nor social problem since they were supplied at villages where needed; their rather undeveloped state however, was noted as posing a serious problem to be tackled soon.

The proposals made may be summarized as follows and are illustrated on Map 2.

(a) Establish a senior secondary school for girls to be developed as a centre of excellence in both Sinhala and Tamil media and name 'St. Joseph's Balika Maha Vidyalaya' (in deference to Roman Catholic sentiments) through amalgamation of St. Joseph's Convent, St. Joseph's Girls' School, St. Joseph's Boys' School and Gampola B.T.S.
Phase out gradually provision for Grades I to V.
With transfer of 1 280 girls using the Sinhala medium and 354 girls the Tamil medium this new school could start with an enrolment of 2 010 on a combined campus of some seven acres and having about 25 706 square feet of accommodation (i.e. adequate to cater for 2 570 pupils by current regulations). With the possible exception of 689 girls from St. Joseph's Convent all pupils would accordingly improve their educational facilities considerably.

(b) Amalgamate Jinaraja and St. Andrew's Colleges to form a boys' secondary school with Grades

I to VIII in both Sinhala and Tamil media having 15 128 square feet of accommodation (i.e. adequate for 1 512 pupils) on a campus of three acres.
Transfer to this school 1 103 boys to use Sinhala medium and 672 boys for Tamil; 310 pupils would thus improve their educational facilities and 69 would transfer from girls' schools.

(c) Establish a senior secondary school (Grades VI to XII) for boys at Gampola M.M.V. which would admit pupils (including those from Wallahagoda Primary School) on the basis of a competitive entrance test.
Transfer some 500 boys here from neighbouring schools thus improving their educational facilities.

(d) Establish Zahira College (already well developed) as a centre of excellence providing instruction in Sinhala, Tamil and English.
Transfer 621 boys and 221 girls (including 190 girls from St. Joseph's Convent) to this school for which a development scheme was also proposed.

(e) Develop the Jinaraja College having a fourteen-acre campus (and an abandoned building programme) as Jinaraja Maha Vidyalaya to add another secondary school from 1963.

(f) Conversions: St. Andrew's Girls' School (6 870 square feet) to be utilized for a dual purpose:
(i) a primary school (Grades I-V) for 196 girls and 67 boys from the neighbourhood;
(ii) remainder as a girls' hostel for St. Joseph's Balika Maha Vidyalaya thus leaving the latter school with more teaching accommodation.
Gampola C.C. School on one-eighth of an acre and having 3 974 square feet accommodation to become an infant school with Grades I to III.
The twin section of the Buddhist Theosophical School to be converted to a vocational school.

D. IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

It is fair to say that much opposition was avoided through the consultative approach undertaken at the pre-proposal stage. Main opposition to the re-organization eventually came, however, from the Parent-Teacher Associations of two Roman Catholic schools, St. Joseph's Boys and St. Joseph's Convent, and from the Urban Council.

The P.T.A. of the first considering the proposals 'ill-advised, arbitrary, iniquitous and discriminatory', sought postponement of implementation to await a report from the National Education Commission (then sitting) putting the following main arguments:

- Inadequacy of time allowed to study the implications;
- transfer of children before providing necessary facilities such as science laboratories;
- breaking in some cases, the continuity of education in the same school from L.Kg. to VIII;
- scattering of pupils to various schools;
- hardships and inconvenience may be caused to parents;
- re-organization tantamount to merely re-naming schools and transferring pupils; implementation would lead to chaos detrimental to present and future generations.

The P.T.A. of St. Joseph's Covent reiterated these arguments and added two others:

- Amalgamation of four schools to create St. Joseph's Balika M.V. would create an unwieldy unit exceeding the administrative optimum;
- the transfer of girls in the English medium to Zahira College, a co-educational school, would be irksome to parents.

Though the public as a whole either acquiesced or remained neutral the Urban Council supported the representatives of the P.T.A.s. In addition the Member of Parliament representing Gampola (in the Opposition Party) raised the following questions in Parliament five months after re-organization:

(a) After the amalgamation of schools in Gampola, what new names have been assigned to them? Why does he want to do away with the two Buddhist institutions namely Jinaraja College and the B.T.S. Mixed School?

(b) Is he aware that with the new setup, children of one family have to attend different schools whereby the younger children are deprived of the care of their elder brothers and sisters?

(c) What transport facilities have been provided to the children of a family who are compelled to attend different schools?

(d) Has he separated boys and girls in all schools other than Zahira College, Gampola, and if so, why this exception?

(e) Will he give details of laboratories installed and those that would be installed in different amalgamated schools in Gampola?

(f) Has he filled the vacancies of teachers in the amalgamated schools and if not, when does he propose to do so?

The following were the replies given:

- The new names assigned are -
  1. K/Wickremabahu Maha Vidyalaya
  2. K/Gampola Vidyalaya
  3. K/Gangazripura Vidyalaya
  The two institutions referred to have not been done away with but have been brought within the re-organization of schools.
  Jinaraja Vidyalaya is being built at the 14 acre site and will re-open in 1963;
- Yes - but the schools are all situated within

the limits of the Urban Council and the slight disadvantage experienced by parents who have to send their children to different schools is heavily off-set by the greater efficiency in the education provided as a result of the re-organization. No complaints have been received from parents.
- Special transport facilities are not considered necessary as the schools are situated within the limits of the Urban Council.
- No.
- Laboratory facilities are available at Zahira College and Wickremabahu Maha Vidyalaya. Laboratories are being installed at St. Joseph's Balika Maha Vidyalaya and Jinaraja Vidyalaya which is being built on the site at Singhapitiya.
- Vacancies were filled according to the availability of teachers and any further vacancies that are reported will be filled in due course.

In any event the rationalization project was implemented as proposed. The following main benefits can be claimed as a result:
- Consolidation on a curricular basis greatly improved overall standards without requiring further expansion;
- better utilization of accommodation was achieved;[1]
- reduction in unit costs; it was found possible to release thirteen teachers (including 3 heads) for appointment elsewhere and to increase enrolment at the same time by 3.7 per cent;
- better utilization of staff; re-allocation of teachers enabled better fitting of qualifications to the requirements of pupils and avoidance of concentration of unqualified teachers in small schools;
- all pupils (excluding those in infant schools) now had better educational facilities;
- data compiled prior to re-organization now facilitated rational allocation of resources for the area;
- public participation stimulated by this re-organization project also pressed central administration to articulate objectives more rationally thus identifying certain problems for priority action such as curriculum development, careful selection and posting of teachers and general improvement of quality; a significant improvement in public examination results was recorded;
- a new system of admission to Grade I evolved which while not totally disallowing parental choice of school nevertheless practically eliminated social discrimination; the 'distance rule' giving priority to pupils in close proximity to schools on a radius basis for each 'catchment area' was in effect a system of zoning and was later extended to all schools in the country;
- mixing of racial, religious and social groups led to a more integrated community; the change was particularly appreciated by the poorer classes who displayed an increased willingness to participate in school activities.

The results of the retrospective evaluation compiled through the questionnaire (see Appendixes) administered in 1971 to 56 persons in Gampola are of special interest since they can be regarded as reflecting the general assessment in the area nine years after the re-organization was implemented. All teachers who had served in the area since re-organization were asked to respond; the remainder were selected at random.

Thus the 56 respondents comprised 1 Education Ministry/Departmental Official, 3 Regional Office Officials, 2 Circuit Education Officers, 2 School Heads, 24 teachers and 24 parents. Of these 5 had knowledge of all the schools concerned, 25 of some schools, 25 of one school only and 1 had no knowledge of the school network. Of the 23 respondents who had expressed views at the time of re-organization 3 felt these views had fully affected the decision of the Department, 9 to some extent and 3 thought their expressed views had no influence at all.

Breakdown of respondents' reasons for reservations about the project as against support for it are shown in Table 8.

Again, 34 respondents thought the re-organization necessary as against 12 who considered it unnecessary and avoidable. Of the remaining 10 it was felt by 7 that the same results could have been achieved differently and 3 gave no reply. Only 2 offered alternative methods and both suggested the suppression of single-sex schools.[2]

On assessment of the implementation process 4 felt it was very satisfactory, 28 satisfactory, 17 unsatisfactory and 7 did not reply. In this regard 16 thought human and physical resources were not harnessed to best advantage; one of these asserted that the Tamil were not given the opportunity to study science, commerce and music, 2 argued that more responsibilities should have been delegated to teachers. In addition, 31 thought the maximum had been done to equalize education opportunity and improve results; of the 19 who felt otherwise none gave any viable supporting argument.

Reactions to questions on the impact of the project on some educational and community aspects during the decade 1960-1970 compared with 1950-1960 are given in Table 9.

These replies show clearly that the re-organization had not brought about convincing

1. The proposed vocational school however did not materialize due to some difficulties in inter-departmental co-ordination.
2. One of these asserted that 're-organization should have been done in a real Socialist State'.

Table 8. Score on reasons for reservations about re-organization as against support for it

Reasons for reservations about re-organization	No. of respondents	Reasons for supporting re-organization	No. of respondents
- standard of instruction	21	- equalization of educational opportunities	27
- convenience of pupils	13	- maximum use of facilities	16
- religious grounds	10	- economies in staff	11
- adequacy/suitability of facilities	9	- elimination of duplication and overlapping of classes/subject offerings	10
- historical/traditional status of the school	7	- economies in space	7
- sentimental reasons	6	- provision of educational facilities irrespective of any 'religious, rich or poor differences'	1
- elimination of privileges	4	- extension of science education	1
		- supplying better qualified teachers to a majority of schools	1
		- expectation that the future generation will get the maximum benefit	1

Table 9. Assessment of some educational and community aspects of the re-organization

	Yes	No	Undecided
- Do you consider that the outcomes of our educational effort have been better?	30	16	10
- Do you consider that there has been better planning in the provision of educational facilities in the area?	33	15	8
- Has Re-organization resulted in promoting closer and more harmonious relations among pupils and parents of			
(a) different social classes	35	19	2
(b) different religious denominations	30	21	5
(c) different races	26	26	4
- Did the creation of single sex schools result in			
(a) better discipline	29	23	4
(b) the provision of fuller curricular offerings suited to the sexes	25	22	9

results as far as eliminating racial differences even though its impact on eliminating social differences is well appreciated. Similarly the creation of single-sex schools was not very well received. Supporting comment was scant but it should be mentioned that 4 felt discipline had deteriorated and 2 thought standards had not improved because of elimination of competition following re-organization and lesser vigilance of Department officers.

It must be said too that the authors found from their visits that the major objectives of the project were satisfactorily achieved. 26 respondents thought that no alternative measures could have been adopted but 20 felt they could. Of these 20 those who named other measures which should have been taken cited the following:

- better planning and execution;
- a co-education system;
- more amalgamations might have avoided rush from village schools to the re-organized Maha Vidyalayas;
- creation of infant schools was irrational;
- science facilities should have been given to more schools;
- schools for technical education should have been established.

These same respondents requested increased educational resources and a wider curriculum and made the following recommendations for the future with regard to the location of schools and utilization of facilities:

- Central science laboratories and central libraries should be established to serve several schools in the area;
- equipment lying unused in any school should be re-distributed on the basis of regular surveys to those where they are needed;
- specialist teachers should be used more intensively by attaching them to several schools to teach their special subjects;
- vocational education should be related to local industries and raw materials;
- available factories, workshops, etc. must be utilized to give pupils practical experience instead of establishing separate workshops;
- co-education should be made wide-spread so that expensive facilities are not duplicated.

All these recommendations are significant, first none of them were suggested, considered or carried out at the time of the re-organization and, second, as the contribution they can make towards the elimination of waste and the optimization of the use of facilities is considerable.

Finally, some overall comments as follows is appropriate on this first case study which dealt also with the first area where re-organization was implemented:

(a) It would appear that the more important aspects of re-organization in the eyes of the public (see the questions asked in Parliament, p. 33) are in order of priority:
- cultural and religious;
- convenience of parents and pupils;
- co-education and racial/linguistic balance;
- educational.

(b) Equalization of opportunity and elimination of social discrimination were largely seen by the public as the main problems to be overcome though there is an inherent fear that 'equalization' can mean a levelling down!

(c) Though educational facilities did not deteriorate for any pupils and were better for the majority it would seem that only considerable capital investment and visible improvement of quality could satisfy the public;

(d) The apparent ambivalent approach to co-education in the re-organization perhaps helped to swing the public against the single-sex school idea.

(e) While Gampola people considered a certain influx of pupils from neighbouring villages after the re-organization caused undesirable overcrowding in their schools Ministry officials thought rather that it brought increased utilization of facilities and improved equalization of education opportunity.

(f) Prior to re-organization optimum size of school was not defined. After implementation when the schools were much larger a certain difference of opinion remained between some sections of the public who considered them too large and the Ministry who in view of the Sri Lanka experience found enrolment size 1 500 to 2 500 quite acceptable especially because of economy of scale and the possibility to offer a much wider curriculum. However, a thorough examination of the optimum size of school should be made.

(g) The experience of this first project also highlighted a serious lack of co-ordination between different central administrative units; in this regard the problems encountered in trying to establish a vocational school in Gampola contributed towards an administrative organization at the Ministry of Education which brought closer liaison between general and technical education.

SECOND CASE STUDY

Ambalangoda

A. BACKGROUND DATA

Geographical location of Ambalangoda may be seen on Map 1 (page 12). This is a prosperous area with an economically and educationally advanced community situated 54 miles to the South of Colombo on the coastal trunk road and railway to the south-eastern parts of Sri Lanka. It covers 11 square miles and had a population of 12 438 at the 1963 census.

An ancient settlement, mentioned in classical Sinhala literature, Ambalangoda and its environs have gained a reputation as one of the centres of the national and religious revival of the 19th century. Many of its residents had, during the last century, migrated to other parts of the country, first as adventurous traders and entrepreneurs and later as teachers and professional men. Ambalangoda has a greater significance as the traditional home of many eminent Sinhals resident elsewhere, than as a flourishing centre of commerce, fishing industry and coconut and cinnamon plantations. The majority of the permanent residents are engaged in fishing and agriculture. A sizeable portion of the population is engaged in teaching and other 'white-collar' jobs in the neighbouring towns (Kalutara, a District Capital: 27 miles; Galle, the Provincial Capital: 20 miles).

Being economically better off and also oriented to internal migration, the people of Ambalangoda seem to have preferred to send their children to Colombo or Galle for their education. Thus, the school system has catered only for those who, for some reason or other (primarily, financial) could not send their children to boarding schools. This accounts for the disparity between the community's overall economic and educational standing and the quality and adequacy of its educational facilities.

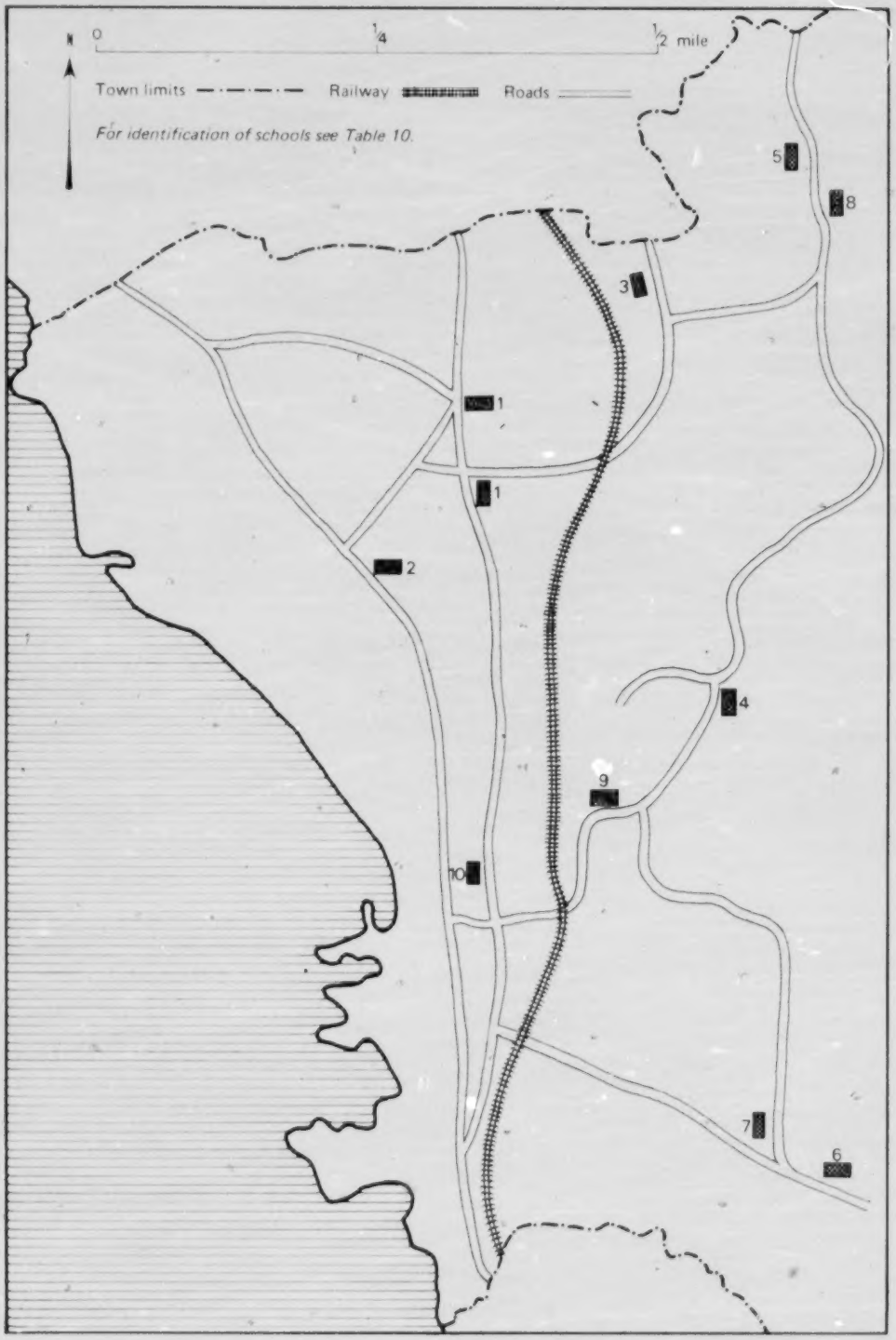
B. SCHOOL NETWORK AT 1961

Location of the network of ten schools (1961) is shown on Map 3 and relevant data are given in Table 10.

Only two schools, Dharmasoka Vidyalaya and Devananda Vidyalaya had classes up to Grade XII (U.E.). The former, located in two premises one-quarter of a mile apart with total campus site of two acres, had facilities for teaching science (physics, chemistry, biology), while the latter provided an arts course at senior stage.

Instruction in all schools was through the Sinhala medium. It may be noticed that apart from the two senior establishments named schools were rather smaller in size than in Gampola; the extent of use of unqualified teachers was also less. Scarcity of land, a problem in the town, hit schools hard; no single campus was larger than one and a half acres and several schools were housed in buildings constructed for residential purposes in the early part of the century. Apart from Devananda Vidyalaya conducted by the Government and two other smaller Government schools at Polwatta, the remaining schools were originally Assisted Schools. The system consisted mainly of Buddhist schools with the single exception of Maha-Ambalangoda Methodist Mission School which by 1961 was housed in a dilapidated building and had a depleted enrolment.

The social and religious inequalities, which characterized the school system elsewhere in Sri Lanka, were hardly perceptible in Ambalangoda. Here the problems were directly related to unplanned location of schools (i.e. different Buddhist organizations establishing schools in all kinds of premises - residential buildings, preaching halls and temples etc.) and the paucity



Map 3. Ambalangoda, showing schools before the re-organization

Table 10. Basic statistical data on Ambalangoda schools before the re-organization (i.e. 1961)

Name of School	Grades	Enrolment	No. of teachers	P/T ratio	Total accommodation in sq.ft.	Size of p.p.p. (sq.ft.)	Special facilities
1. Dharmasoka Vidyalaya	L.Kg-XII (Sc.)	B. 1 243 G. 528	Q. 73 U. 8	21.86	23 120	13.05	Sc. (XII)
2. Devananda Vidyalaya	L.Kg-XII (Arts)	B. 609 G. 544	Q. 41 U. 5	25.06	12 328	10.69	ODM
3. Gramani Balika	L.Kg-X	B. 38 G. 336	Q. 13 U. 1	26.78	4 221	11.25	HSR
4. Prajapathi Balika	L.Kg-X	B. 29 G. 333	Q. 11 U. 3	25.85	3 583	9.89	HSR
5. Polwatta Boys'	L.Kg-X	B. 334 G. 12	Q. 9 U. 2	31.45	2 600	7.51	Nil
6. Dhammakusala	L.Kg-X	B. 181 G. 172	Q. 6 U. 6	29.41	2 285	6.47	Nil
7. Maha Ambalangoda Methodist	L.Kg-VIII	B. 200 G. 124	Q. 6 U. 5	29.45	2 155	6.67	Nil
8. Polwatta Girls'	L.Kg-VIII	B. 0 G. 217	Q. 4 U. 3	31.00	1 840	8.47	Nil
9. Gotami Balika	Private School earlier - No documents are available.						
10. Prajapathi	III-XII (Arts)	B. 32 G. 499	Q. 15 U. 8	23.09	9 345	17.59	HSR

of physical facilities to maintain a satisfactory school system. Only one school provided facilities for science teaching while two schools had classes in Home Science. There were no workshops in any school. Practically all schools were without playgrounds.

The quality as well as the distribution of the teaching staff was more satisfactory than elsewhere in Sri Lanka; but its effectiveness was seriously impaired by administrative and functional difficulties caused by unsatisfactory physical facilities.

C. RE-ORGANIZATION POLICY AND PROPOSALS

The efforts of the Ministry of Education to re-organize the school system of Ambalangoda were greatly facilitated by the participation of the local Member of Parliament, himself, an eminent educationalist. The policies, evolved after consultation between central and town interests including field inspections, were as follows:

- A self-sufficient school network must be developed for the town as admissions to schools in Colombo and Galle were increasingly difficult;
- size and level of schools should vary according to available physical facilities;
- each school should form one administrative entity on one campus and should serve a reasonable area;
- at least three centres of excellence should be provided in the town and other schools should be organized as 'feeder' schools to these centres;
- at least one 'girls only' secondary school should be provided;
- re-organization must form part of an integrated development plan for Ambalangoda aiming to have an adequate school system within a few years.

Accordingly, after a series of discussions with schools' heads and teachers and having taken representations made by the public into account re-organization proposals were put forward. It should be mentioned that no public dispute emerged probably due in the main to the linguistic, racial and religious homogeneity of the community.

The proposals made may be summarized as follows and are illustrated on Map 3:

- Establish three Senior schools at Dharmasoka Maha Vidyalaya, mixed Grades VI-XII having science option; Devananda Maha Vidyalaya, mixed Grades VI-XII having arts option; Prajapati Gotami Balika Maha Vidyalaya, girls only Grades III-XII;
- establish three junior schools at Gramani Balika Kanistha Vidyalaya, girls only, XX-X; Maha Ambalangoda Kanishta Vidyalaya, mixed, L.Kg-VIII; Ghri Dhammakusala Kanishta Vidyalaya, mixed, L.Kg-VIII;
- establish three primary schools at Dharmasoka, mixed, L.Kg-V; Devananda, mixed, L.Kg-V; Polwatta mixed, II-V;
- establish two infant schools at Prajapati Gotami, mixed, L.Kg-II; Polwatta mixed, L.Kg-I.

D. IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

It was possible to implement the first set of proposals published by the Ministry of Education without any major modification. The following main benefits from the re-organization project (illustrated on Map 3) may be claimed:

- Consolidation of post-primary supply at ten schools to a more rational provision at six establishments, facilitating thus increased utilization of accommodation and reduction of unit costs since existing staff could now cope with a 6 per cent increase of pupils to 5 763;[1]
- equalization of educational opportunity through more even distribution of pupils and affording access according to their abilities to the best facilities available in one of the three centres of excellence;
- re-organization facilitated the down-grading of certain schools with limited facilities to junior, primary and infant school status;
- improved administration became possible through the individualization of schools on each campus (while they remained interrelated and inter-dependent);
- preparatory work for the re-organization project gave a fillip to rational planning through highlighting priority problems (provision of land, buildings and special facilities) and facilitating rational allocation of funds.

Of the 41 respondents to the 1971 questionnaire for evaluation 2 heads of schools and 27 teachers had served in the schools before and after the re-organization, the remaining 12 were parents chosen at random. Only 1 respondent knew all the schools, 28 respondents knew just some schools and 12 had knowledge of one school. Three had expressed views at pre-proposal stage which they felt influenced the re-organization proposals.

Breakdown of respondents' reasons for reservations about or support for the project are shown in Table 11.

While 33 respondents considered the re-organization necessary there were 7 who thought it unnecessary and one who felt it could have been achieved differently. In the same vein 33 thought the measures taken were satisfactory as against 8 rating them unsatisfactory; none considered them very satisfactory indicating a lack of community commitment. On utilization of resources after re-organization 24 felt they were harnessed to best advantage and 17 thought otherwise. The reasons given by the 4 replying in the negative were: (i) practical education should have been more emphasized; (ii) 'catchment area' admission rule did not work satisfactorily; (iii) separate schools for fisheries, woodwork, etc. should have been established; (iv) facilities should have been better distributed.

There were 24 respondents who felt that the best possible was done to equalize opportunities and maximize results. Of the 16 who thought otherwise 3 thought that emphasis on practical education, separate schools for arts and science and science laboratories in all high schools could have made an improvement.

As shown in Table 12 it was the general view that educational planning and results were much better in 1960-1970 than in the previous decade and that community relations were also improved; the creation of single-sex schools were seen as promoting better discipline and a wider and more suitable curriculum for all.

Table 11. Score on reasons for reservations about re-organization as against support for it

Reasons for reservations about re-organization	No. of respondents	Reasons for supporting re-organization	No. of respondents
- Convenience of pupils	9	- Equalization of educational opportunities	21
- historical/traditional status of the school	5	- maximum use of facilities	17
- standard of instruction	4	- economies in space	5
- sentimental reasons	3	- economies in staff	5
- adequacy/suitability of facilities	2	- elimination of duplication and overlapping of classes/subject offerings	3
- elimination of privileges	1		

1. After re-organization some 196 pupils from sub-standard schools in villages near the town could be admitted to previously unused places.

Table 12. Comparing education effort 1960-1970 with that for 1950-1960

	Yes	No	Undecided
- Do you consider that the outcome of our educational efforts have been better during 1960-1970?	34	6	1
- Do you consider that there has been better planning in the provision of educational facilities in the area?	34	6	1
- Has re-organization resulted in promoting closer and more harmonious relations among pupils and parents of:			
(a) different social classes	37	2	2
(b) different religious denominations	28	4	9
(c) different races	27	5	9
- Did the creation of single sex schools result in:			
(a) better discipline	34	5	2
(b) the provision of fuller curricular offerings suited to the sexes	32	3	6

In favourable comment improved discipline, English and arithmatic results, employment prospects for school leavers and choice of schools were cited; in adverse comment co-education was strongly criticized with particular mention that there were few University entrants from 'girls only' schools. However, it is clear, on balance, that the objectives of re-organization were achieved. This is borne out by a progress report (see Annex VI) which shows elimination of small classes, better utilization of specialist teachers, broader curriculum, improved qualifications of teachers and introduction of a variety of extra-curricular activities.

Alternative approaches to re-organization could have been made according to 15 respondents against 22 who thought not. However, no alternative was suggested besides highlighting the need for better planning to minimize waste and for the delegation of more authority to heads of schools. Recommendations for future action related mainly to improvements in teacher education and curricular reforms.

The homogeneity of this community minimized controversy and accordingly facilitated re-organization which was then reduced to rational re-allocation of existing facilities and identification of future directions for development. However, as in Gampola re-organization was school-centred and no profound examination of vocational education needs for the area was made. An unhealthy apathy of the public with regard to educational development was noticed; to what extent this is attributable to the homogeneity of the community is hard to assess.

THIRD CASE STUDY

Tangalle

A. BACKGROUND DATA

Tangalle is a small area (population 1963: 7 963), covering one-half square mile and situated on the south-eastern coast some 124 miles from Colombo, midway between the two district capitals of Matara and Hambantota (see Map 1, page 12). Its location on the trunk roads to the various Buddhist and Hindu shrines of the south-east has made it well known nationally. It is really an overgrown village though served by electricity and having asphalt roads. Law courts, the rest houses and the hospital of the area are located in Tangalle.

The population of the town is almost entirely Sinhala Buddhist with few Muslims and Roman Catholics. (In 1961 out of 2 820 school children in Tangalle only 83 were Muslims and 35 Roman Catholics). Tangalle serves a rich rice and coconut-growing hinterland, while it is also an important fishing centre. Cattle-rearing is another of the major occupations of the people and the town is reputed for the quality of the curd produced.

Tangalle had been a prominent cultural centre during the latter half of the 18th and the early part of the 19th century, when Matara and its neighbouring settlements became the pivotal point of a major literary and religious renaissance. It is, perhaps, this fact which may account for the concentration of the educational effort of three Christian missionary bodies (i.e. Church of Ceylon, Methodist Mission and Roman Catholic Church) in this somewhat small community.

B. SCHOOL NETWORK AT 1961

Location of the network of seven schools (1961) is shown in Map 4 and relevant data is given in Table 13.

Re-organization in 1962 applied to the full network with the exception of the Muslim school.

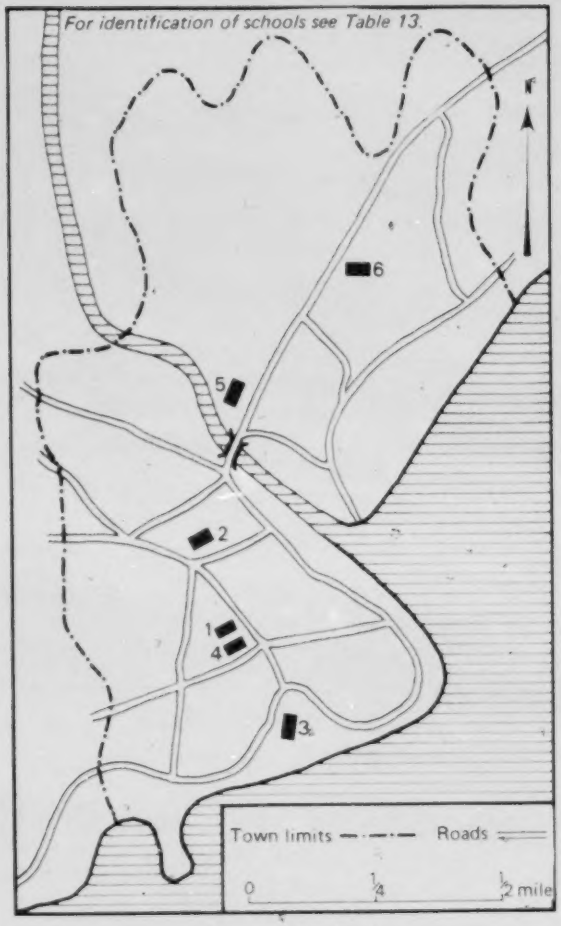
It will be seen from the table that the six schools concerned which were relatively small all catered for Grades L.Kg-X with the exception of Deepankara Vidyalaya (a Buddhist school located in the premises of a temple) having Grades L.Kg-VIII.[1]

Christ Church College and Little Flower Convent, formerly English medium but now Sinhala, located on sites of 2.5 and 0.75 acres respectively, were the best schools in town; both had facilities for teaching home science but not science. The Convent had a students' hostel attached.[2]

The Methodist school located adjacent to Christ Church College served poorer pupils who could not gain admission to the two better schools named above. Similarly Christ Church Sinhala Mixed School served the less privileged and likewise had no special facilities. Rahula Vidyalaya (founded in 1896) was a government school, but had no special facilities.

In spite of the early start in modern education and the very satisfactory rate of school enrolments (i.e. 2 820 attending schools in a community of 7 000-8 000), the school system was substandard and neglected. Congestion in schools was made worse by classrooms being too old, too small and ill-ventilated. Furniture and equipment were inadequate, old and dysfunctional. Only one school had a playground and that too was less than a quarter of an acre in extent. Other than Christ Church College which had a campus of two and one-half acres, all others were located in premises which ranged from 3/4 of an acre to 3/16 of an acre. The staffing was equally unsatisfactory. There was not even a single university graduate in the teaching service

1. Deepankara post-primary was very small: VI, 14, VII, 12, VIII, 6.
2. It should be mentioned that the 72 boys enrolled were in Grades L.K. -III.



Map 4. Tangalle town, showing the schools subjected to re-organization

of the town. Out of 101 teachers in the six schools, 48 were (GCEOL) unqualified and had only passed Grade X.

The major part of the educational system in Tangalle had been in the hands of Christian missionary organizations until 1960. The fact that neither the Church of Ceylon nor the Methodist Mission had even a single child of their denomination in any of their schools may explain the reason for the absence of any effort to improve them. It was evident that the cultural disparity between the schools and the community has been felt fairly early in Tangalle, as the composition of the staff as well as the subject offerings in the Christian schools had, even as assisted private schools, been oriented to the needs of the Buddhist majority. Tangalle presented a clear case of a school system where nationalization was a prerequisite for planned and sustained development.

C. RE-ORGANIZATION POLICY AND PROPOSALS

The Member of Parliament for this electorate required re-organization in Tangalle as a matter of priority. The main re-organization policy was as follows:

- Priority to be given first to eliminating pockets of privilege and next to re-distribution and increase of facilities in an overhaul of the network;
- religious rivalry should as far as possible be eliminated;
- at least one school should be upgraded to cater to Grade XII and provide facilities for teaching arts and science subjects;
- schools with development potential should be identified and developed as quickly as possible while those not having expansion prospects should be reduced in status.

After certain consultations with the interested parties the following proposals as shown on Map 4 were made:

- Amalgamate Methodist Sinhala School with the adjacent Christ Church College which catered for the more privileged;
- establish a Maha Vidyalaya (Senior School) to cater to Grade XII;
- retain the Little Flower Convent as a 'girls only' school catering to Grade X;
- downgrade two other schools to junior status catering to Grade VIII and one other to primary status (Grade V);
- group pupils in higher classes into viable units in two schools to ensure efficiency of instruction.

D. IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

In this case opposition to the proposals was strong from the start. Despite the fact that several consultation meetings were held (in which the Senior Assistant Secretary to the Ministry of Education took part) and a serious attempt was made to 'educate' the public on the need for this re-organization, opposition based simply on sentiment or religious rivalry continued including organized demonstrations and disturbances. As the re-organization was pushed through however, the demonstrations ceased after some days; the public information campaign conducted undoubtedly played an important role in this regard.

It may fairly be claimed that as a result of the re-organization:

- there was educational provision up to Grade XII

Table 13. Basic statistical data on Tangalle schools before re-organization (i.e. 1961)

Name of School	Grades	Enrolment	No. of teachers	P/T ratio	Total accommodation in sq.ft.	Size of p.p.p. (sq.ft.)	Special facilities
Christ Church College	L.Kg-X	B. 456 G. 176	27	23.4	5 540	8.76	HSR
Little Flower Convent	L.Kg-X	B. 72 G. 457	20	26.45	5 440	10.28	HSR Hostel
Methodist Sinhala Mixed School	L.Kg-X	B. 181 G. 158	11	30.82	2 957	8.72	Nil
Christ Church Sinhala Mixed School	L.Kg-X	B. 220 G. 170	15	26.13	4 379	11.17	Nil
Rahula Vidyalaya	L.Kg-X	B. 320 G. 354	22	30.59	4 218	6.26	Nil
Deepankara Vidyalaya	L.Kg-VIII	B. 140 G. 115	9	42.5	2 115	8.29	Nil
TOTAL		2 820	101	27.92	24 649	8.74	

including arts and science options, for the first time in the town thus avoiding the necessity to travel either 11 miles to the nearest Central School or 24 miles to Matara;
- significant equalization of opportunity was achieved and the last vestiges of religious rivalry were removed through re-distribution of staff and the teaching of all religions in each school;
- a more rational network results with lower tier 'feeding' into the Senior high school; despite the acceptance of one 'girls only' school uneconomical duplication of university entrance classes was resisted;
- the pre-reorganization position with very many unqualified teachers was rectified and 8 teachers were released for employment elsewhere; with the establishment of the senior school university graduates were appointed for the first time;
- there was a marked improvement in school-community relations and all schools showed a remarkable improvement both in facilities and in quality of instruction; community interest in educational development was an important factor in favour of the location of the District Education Office in Tangalle rather than in the District capital 25 miles away.

There were 18 respondents to the 1971 evaluative questionnaire. One of these was a Regional Office staff member who knew all the schools well but the remaining 17 (8 teachers and 9 parents) knew only of one school each.[1]

Respondents' reasons for reservations about the re-organization were scored as follows: 6 on religious grounds, 6 on standard of instruction and 3 for sentimental reasons. The score for those favouring the re-organization on the other hand was: 12 for maximum use of facilities, 9 for equalization of educational opportunities, 7 for economies of space and 7 for economies of staff.

Fifteen felt the re-organization necessary but 3 thought the same results could have been achieved differently. Of these latter one felt stricter application of the grant system to assisted schools was preferable to nationalization, another that the undeveloped schools only should have been nationalized and the third that a scholarship scheme enabling deserving pupils to attend better urban schools would have brought better results.

The measures taken were very satisfactory according to 10 respondents. And of the remaining 8 who considered them satisfactory one felt they did not go far enough and another that sufficient attention was not paid to maintenance of buildings and equipment. All respondents however, thought that with re-organization the most efficient use was made of human and physical resources. There was equal division of views as to whether more could have been done. In this regard two points worth noting were made: (i) rural schools might usefully have been developed to stave off pressure on town schools; (ii) more co-operation should have been sought from the Parent-Teacher Association.

1. While one of the authors personally spent two days inspecting all the schools the effort at obtaining views of the public on re-organization was necessarily limited in this case.

The four questions meant to elicit responses on the impact of the re-organization on different aspects of education in the town during the decade 1960-1970 as compared with the decade 1950-1960, showed the following balance of views:

Table 14. Comparison of education effort 1960-1970 with that of 1950-1960

	Yes	No	Undecided
- Do you consider that the outcomes of our educational effort have been better?	16	2	0
- Do you consider that there has been better planning in the provision of educational facilities in the area?	18	0	0
- Has re-organization resulted in promoting closer and more harmonious relations among pupils and parents of:			
(a) different social classes	18	0	0
(b) different religious denominations	10	0	8
(c) different races	8	2	8
- Did the single-sex schools result in:			
(a) better discipline	10	8	0
(b) the provision of fuller curricular offerings suited to sexes	10	4	4

While the impact of the re-organization of reducing social differences is clearly acknowledged, as many as 8 respondents had no clear proof that religious and racial relations had improved. They, however, had no evidence of deterioration. The two respondents showing dissatisfaction as regards racial relations have suggested the classification of pupils according to their mother tongue. It is not quite clear whether the reference is to the growing interest shown by Muslim parents in the town to educate their children in the Sinhala medium as opposed to the Tamil, which had been more popular with Muslims until recent times. As regards single-sex schools, one respondent, has stated, 'I advocate co-education to mitigate the children's frustration. Creation of single sex schools will increase their frustrations and sex urges. It might lead them to be stubborn.'

Four respondents felt that better results could have been obtained from the re-organization if it was done gradually over a number of years and if the requisite staff and facilities were provided immediately after the re-organization.

Among the recommendations for the future, the following had a bearing on school-mapping:

- Conducting double shifts in all schools.
- Sending students of Grades XI and XII (GCEAL) to Maha Vidyalayas and providing them with free transportation.
- Acquiring more land for schools and extending school gardens.
- Providing residential facilities for teachers within school premises.
- Pooling the services of specialist teachers by making their services available to several schools.

More than half the respondents had referred to furniture and equipment in schools and suggested action in the form of:

- repairing damaged furniture and equipment without delay;
- teaching the children to protect public property, and
- getting the help of parents for safeguarding school buildings and equipment.

These seem to refer to a widespread problem in Sri Lanka, where the breakage of furniture is quite high and (a) the delays in the procedure for repairs, (b) the constraints on repairing imposed by the design and (c) the administrative rules relating to write-offs necessitate the hoarding of damaged furniture or equipment over a long period. This problem has since received the attention of Unesco-sponsored Asian Regional Institute for School Building Research, located in Colombo, and more durable and more easily repairable chairs and desks have been designed.

Again in this case study the difficulty of re-organizing a school network grown irrational and having flagrant inequalities due to a large extent to traditional religious rivalry and social differentiation is clearly highlighted. What is unusual here is that this rivalry was rather confined to the proprietors of the schools. In such circumstances it is clear that prerequisites to successful implementation include not only a public information campaign but a certain resolve also in pushing through rational reforms.

It would seem also that on balance there is hardly any really viable alternative to nationalization of the system in a multi-religious situation (such as that in Sri Lanka) for successful implementation.

However, the school-centred approach to reorganization is seen to have some serious shortcomings. While location of schools and redistribution of resources may be adequately dealt with in this approach such matters as the development of vocational and technical education and of curricula aligned to the needs of the community tend to be overlooked.

FOURTH CASE STUDY

Puttalam

A. BACKGROUND DATA

As may be seen from Map 1 (page 12) Puttalam, the capital of the Puttalam-Chilaw District, is situated on the west coast, some 82 miles north of Colombo. This is a medium-sized (population 1963, 13 334) semi-urban, multi-racial and multi-lingual community.

Tradition has it that the first Aryan colonists from India settled and established the first seat of government around Puttalam circa 500 B.C. Archaelogical and epigraphical evidence indicates the importance of this region in the country's history.

Puttalam had been a major port of call for Arab merchant ships which carried on a brisk trade between Sri Lanka and the Middle-East. It had, thus, become one of the earliest Muslim settlements in the country. In the 16th century, it became a part of the Portuguese territory. As a result of the Portuguese religious policy, which encouraged the spread of Roman Catholicism while persecuting Muslims, a substantial part of the population had become Catholics. Today, the majority community in the town are Muslims while the Roman Catholics form the second largest group. Buddhists and Hindus are in the minority.

Fishing, coconut and rice cultivation and salt-making constitute the main occupations of the people. Muslims are mostly traders and rice cultivators while Roman Catholics form the majority among fishermen. The Hindu Tamils are mostly labourers in coconut plantations and salterns around the town. A fair portion of the Sinhala Buddhist community consists of government servants transferred to the area for short periods.

Linguistically, Tamil had been the home language of most Muslims. The general trend of their switching over to Sinhala is noticeable here also. The number of children seeking instruction in the Sinhala medium has been steadily increasing since 1956.

In all spheres of activity and particularly in politics, the rivalry between Muslims and Roman Catholics is clearly evident. Muslims dominate in all political institutions, while socially the impact of Roman Catholicism is strongly felt.

B. SCHOOL NETWORK AT 1961

Location of the network of eight schools (1961) is shown in Map 5 and relevant data is given in Table 15.

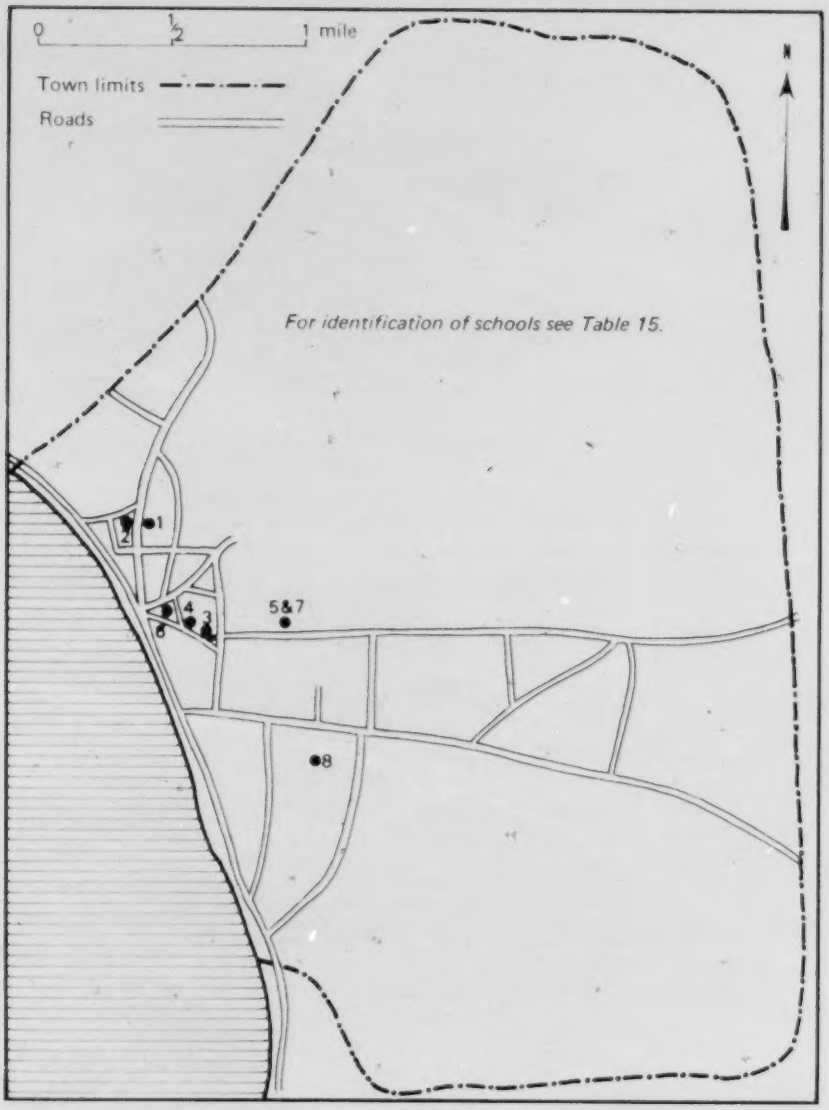
Though Puttalam was comparable to Gampola in size and in other ways its educational facilities were considerably worse. There was no educational provision beyond Grade X and science laboratories were available in just two schools with provision to teach elementary science to to Grade VIII in a third school. Though land was not scarce only one school had a campus of five acres and three schools had sites of just half an acre. Again most schools were relatively small.

The Roman Catholic Church conducted four schools.

- St. Andrew's Boys' College: erstwhile English medium but now Sinhala (150 boys) and Tamil (99 boys) media;
- St. Anne's Girls' College: Tamil (145 girls) and Sinhala (109 girls);
- Puttalam R.C. Tamil School: co-educational for less privileged;
- Puttalam R.C. Sinhala School: also co-educational for poorer pupils.

The government conducted three schools:

- Muslim Maha Vidyalaya: intended as senior school to Grade XII with science option but this not achieved till 1962; ostensibly co-educational but only 48 girls enrolled with 625 boys;



Map 5. Puttalam town, showing the schools subjected to re-organization

- Muslim Girls' school: also co-educational but only 26 boys enrolled with 318 girls;
- Puttalam Sinhala Maha Vidyalaya: though nominally a senior school neither the staff nor the facilities were available to justify this status; a co-educational school (156 boys and 126 girls) in a very neglected condition.

The eighth school, Zahira College, which had been an Assisted Private Muslim School, was the only school which could be rated satisfactory from the viewpoints of physical facilities and staffing conditions. This was a co-educational school (424 boys and 156 girls) on a 5-acre campus using the Tamil medium.

Total enrolment of 2 877 in all these schools seemed small for a population of 13 334 when compared with Gampola and Ambalangoda which had enrolments of 6 152 and 5 432 for populations of 13 070 and 12 438 respectively. Since there was not much movement of pupils to schools outside Puttalam and as the influx of pupils into town schools was normal, the relatively lower participation rate was apparently due in the main to the very low participation of Muslim girls whose parents were reluctant to send them to school particularly after puberty. The sex ratio

Table 15. Basic statistical data on Puttalam schools before the re-organization (i.e. 1961)

Name of School[1]	Grades	Enrolment	No. of teachers	P/T ratio	Total accommodation in sq. ft.	Size of p.p.p. (sq. ft.)	Special facilities
Zahira College	L.Kg-X	B. 424 G. 156	Q. 20 U. 7	21.48	6 110	10.53	Sc. X
Muslim M.V.	L.Kg-X	B. 625 G. 48	Q. 10 U. 12	30.59	5 935	8.81	Sc. X
St. Andrew's College	L.Kg-X	B. 249 G. -	Q. 10 U. 5	16.60	4 390	17.63	SR
St. Anne's Girls' College	L.Kg-X	G. 254	Q. 10 U. 3	19.54	4 018	15.82	HSR, WM
Puttalam R.G. Tamil	L.Kg-X	B. 67 G. 127	Q. 5 U. 2	27.71	2 268	11.69	Nil
Muslim Girls	L.Kg-X	B. 26 G. 318	Q. 10 U. 6	21.50	4 500 -	13.08	Nil
Puttalam R.C. Sinhala	L.Kg-X	B. 108 G. 194	Q. 6 U. 4	30.10	3 104	10.31	Nil
Puttalam Sinhala Maha Vidyalaya	L.Kg-X	B. 156 G. 126	Q. 5 U. 4	31.33	2 600	9.22	Nil
TOTAL		2 877	119	24.18	33 925	11.79	

1. All schools used the Tamil medium with the exception of Puttalam R.C. and Puttalam Sinhala Maha Vidyalaya which used Sinhala; St. Andrew's and St. Anne's Girls' Colleges also had Sinhala streams.

for enrolments in the three communities was as follows:

Table 16. Sex ratio for enrolment of three communities in Puttalam

	Boys		Girls	
	No.	%	No.	%
Sinhala	414	49.2	428	50.8
Tamil	166	37.9	272	62.1
Muslim	1 075	67.3	522	32.7

C. RE-ORGANIZATION POLICY AND PROPOSALS

The re-organization policy included the general principles enunciated for Gampola (first case study) and the following specific points:

- Initiation of a well-defined educational development plan for the town, remove causes for low participation rate and arrange increased utilization of physical facilities;
- eliminate racial and religious rivalry which was having disadvantageous effects on the one hand through inefficient use of resources in the uneconomical institutions of both Roman Catholics and Muslims and on the other by minimizing state participation in the town's educational effort;
- provide for the increasing demand for education in the Sinhala medium;
- as an aid to removing prejudice among Muslims against the education of girls create a few girls only schools;
- provide facilities to cater beyond Grade X so as to avoid the necessity for pupils wishing to pursue Grades XI and XII courses to travel some 30-50 miles for these facilities.

Following consultation with the interested parties the following proposals as shown on Map 5 (page 48) were made:

- establish Fatima Balika Maha Vidyalaya, a 'girls only' senior school for Muslims on the premises of the Muslim Matia Vidyalaya (site 2.5 acres), having a new science laboratory and classes in the Tamil medium from L.Kg to Grade II in Arts and Science;
- establish Zahira Maha Vidyalaya, a 'boys only' senior school for Muslims in the premises of Zahira College (site 5 acres), having a science laboratory and classes in the Tamil medium from Grades III to XII in Arts and Science;
- establish Boys' Infant School as 'Feeder' to Zahira Maha Vidyalaya on the premises of the Muslim Girls' School (site 1.75 acres);
- establish St. Mary's Tamil Vidyalaya on the combined premises of Puttalam R.C. Sinhala

School and Puttalam R.C. Tamil School (site 1 acre) having classes in Grades L.Kg to X in the Tamil medium;[1]
- retain St. Andrew's College as a 'boys only' senior school (site 3 acres) having a science room and classes in the Sinhala medium from Grades L.Kg to XII in Arts and Science;
- retain St. Anne's College as a 'girls only' secondary school (site 0.5 acre) having classes in the Sinhala medium from Grades L.Kg to X in Arts and Science and making arrangements to share science room at St. Andrew's College for practical work;
- downgrade the Government Sinhala Maha Vidyalaya (site 2 acres) to Ananda Vidyalaya, a junior school having classes in the Sinhala medium from Grades L.Kg to VIII.[2]

It may be seen that in the re-organization the schools were regrouped to take account of linguistic and Muslim/non-Muslim divisions and of public desire for single-sex schools while providing also the possibility of taking Grades XI and XII courses in the town.

D. IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

It is certain that the nationalization and unification policies adopted were pre-requisites to successful re-organization in this case where racial, linguistic and religious rivalries were so deep-rooted. In addition thorough and tactful consultation with all the interested parties was particularly necessary. Indeed the senior Assistant Secretary to the Ministry of Education recorded as many as 17 meetings during the two months when the proposals were being prepared. In these circumstances it was inevitable that the final proposals should constitute a certain compromise not based entirely on educational grounds. While the consultation process was slow, frustrating and sometimes deadlocked, nevertheless with the aid of the local Member of Parliament (opposition Party) a set of proposals emerged which was educationally and administratively viable as well as politically and socially acceptable.

It may be said that the following benefits emerged from re-organization:
- The new network of seven schools provided a more rational distribution of educational facilities;
- better utilization of facilities was achieved especially through amalgamation and common sharing;
- small classes were eliminated enabling better utilization of teachers and the assignment of more qualified staff to examination classes;
- a certain reduction of unit cost was achieved since it was found possible (with no fall in enrolment) to transfer 9 teachers to more needy areas including 1 head, 1 university graduate and 2 trained teachers;
- the re-organization marked a turning point towards continued educational development in the town which by 1971 (as shown by Progress Reports) had a very satisfactory school system; intensive care by Ministry officials for a period following re-organization also contributed to this development.

Not unexpectedly however, on account of the compromise nature of the proposals, some major shortcomings emerged which led to protracted controversy and bitterness. Thus, the intention to reduce racial tension by creating St. Mary's Tamil Vidyalaya for non-Muslims and the conversion of two small Sinhala/Tamil schools to single-medium establishments was not realized. The Tamils alleged discrimination as 106 boys and 167 girls were obliged to transfer from the more prestigious St. Andrew's and St. Anne's respectively, to an amalgamated school on the combined premises of two small schools. A separate school was demanded by the Tamil Community ... 'where children of Tamil parents could study in their own environment and surroundings, fulfilling their religious obligations as well, in their own way in an atmosphere to which they are used.'

Again, for a town with only 131 Grade X pupils in 1961 educational provision up to this Grade in 5 schools and the supply of 3 senior schools as well was not justifiable on an economic basis. Neither did provision of Grades XI and XII facilities produce the expected results as only one school had a single successful pupil during the decade at the University entrance examination. Nevertheless, the public demand to upgrade also Ananda Vidyalaya to senior school status was ultimately acceded to by the Ministry.

Certain pressure also built up within a year of re-organization to amalgamate St. Andrew's Boys' College and St. Anne's Girls' College which were situated on adjacent sites. This move was supported by the District Education Officer on both educational and economic grounds. The final decision however, was not made on this basis but on the grounds that the Sinhalas

1. This school was created specially to satisfy the wishes of Roman Catholics and Hindu Tamils who wanted at least one non-Muslim Tamil-medium school in town.
2. This turned out to be the most unpopular proposal and several meetings with teachers and parents were necessary to convince them of the advantages which the Sinhala-medium children could have by their transfer to St. Andrew's and St. Anne's for GCE (OL) studies.

should not be deprived of the 'privilege' of having a 'girls only' school when the Muslims already had one.

Still the point must be made that such controversies awakened the interest of the public not only in the issues concerned but also in wider problems and accordingly they made a positive contribution to educational development.

There were 26 respondents to the 1971 evaluative questionnaire of whom 13 were parents chosen at random and 13 were staff (5 heads and 8 teachers) who had served in the school system since the re-organization. Only 2 respondents knew all the schools in Puttalam, 9 knew some schools and 15 knew only one school each. Five respondents who had expressed their views prior to re-organization felt these views had influenced the decisions made.

The score on reasons for opposing or favouring the reform is shown in Table 17.

Table 17. Respondents' score on reasons for opposing or favouring re-organization

Reasons for reservations	No.	Reasons for support	No.
- adequacy/suitability of facilities	7	- equalization of educational opportunities	13
- convenience of pupils	6	- maximum use of facilities	9
- religious grounds	4	- elimination of duplication and overlapping of classes/subject offerings	6
- sentimental reasons	3	- economies in staff	5
- historical/traditional status of the school	2		
- elimination of privileges	2		
- standard of instruction	1		

Twenty-one respondents felt the re-organization was necessary as against two who thought it unnecessary and avoidable. The measures taken were very satisfactory according to 3, satisfactory according to 20 and unsatisfactory in the view of 3 respondents.

While 16 respondents thought available resources were used to the best advantage as a result of the reform, 8 felt otherwise. One of the latter took the view that vested interests of teachers and others came into play thwarting the even distribution of available talent. The same 8 respondents thought that more could have been done to equalize opportunities and maximize results. One of these felt strongly that 'politics' had interfered with rational decision-making resulting in a status quo for the 'haves' and 'have-nots' to the delight of the politicians and their stooges; another thought retention of freedom of choice of school by parents helped to preserve the privileges of the well-to-do classes.

Respondents' score in comparisons 1960-1970 effort with that of 1950-1960 is shown in Table 18. There was evidently a strong measure of reservation about the success of the re-organization in reducing religious and social tensions and about the results from creating single-sex schools. However, only 6 out of the 26 respondents felt that different measures should have been adopted and 3 of these again alluded to the need to emphasize educational considerations and avoid political expediency.

Recommendations for the future presented by the respondents related mainly to curriculum development and professional upgrading of teachers. Suggestions were made for the establishment of common centres for the teaching of science, commercial and technical subjects and secularization of the education system enabling pupils to be admitted to any school (having a suitable language medium) irrespective of their religion.[1]

In conclusion it may be said that the re-organization in this case was only partly successful. The acute racial, linguistic and religious rivalries led to compromise proposals which left all parties dissatisfied though providing a much wider range of educational supply than could be economically justified.

Secularization of the system might have helped more since dividing such a small system along religious lines in addition to the linguistic division made efficient use of resources extremely difficult.

1. One respondent urged the formation of a body of educationalists with the assistance of Unesco to advise the Government on forming legislation suited to the country's educational development.

Table 18. Comparison of educational effort 1960-1970 with that of 1950-1960

	Yes	No	Undecided
- Do you consider that the outcomes of our educational effort have been better than in 1950-1960?	20	3	3
- Do you consider that there has been better planning in the provision of educational facilities in the area?	20	3	3
- Has re-organization resulted in promoting closer and more harmonious relations among pupils and parents of			
(a) different social classes	17	4	5
(b) different religious denominations	14	4	8
(c) different races	10	6	10
- Did the creation of single schools result in			
(a) better discipline	10	6	10
(b) the privision of fuller offerings suited to the sexes	9	5	12

FIFTH CASE STUDY

Badulla

A. BACKGROUND DATA

Badulla, capital of the relatively undeveloped Province of Uva (with a population of 27 182 in 1963), is situated towards the south-eastern end of the central massif of the island and has been an important landmark on the ancient highways which run from the north-east and the centre to the south-west (see Map 1). The community is urban, multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-religious with Sinhala Buddhist the dominant majority. Rich in archaeological monuments and epigraphical records, Badulla and its environs had maintained a significant place in the country's history until recent times. It was in this area that the rebellion of 1817-18 to overthrow the newly established British rule started. Whether due to this historical factor or due to geographical factors such as the difficult mountaineous terrain with interspersed grassland, this Province had not kept pace with the rest of the country in development.

Badulla is the terminus of the main railway line, which passes through the picturesque hill resorts of the tea-growing part of the country. The town, itself is surrounded by tea estates and vegetable farms and serves as a clearing centre for their products. The commercial importance of Badulla during the last hundred odd years attracted migrants from the trading communities of low-country Sinhalas and Muslims, besides an overflow from the Indian Tamil population of the neighbouring estates. Thus, Badulla has a heterogeneous population in which all races and religions of the country's population are represented.

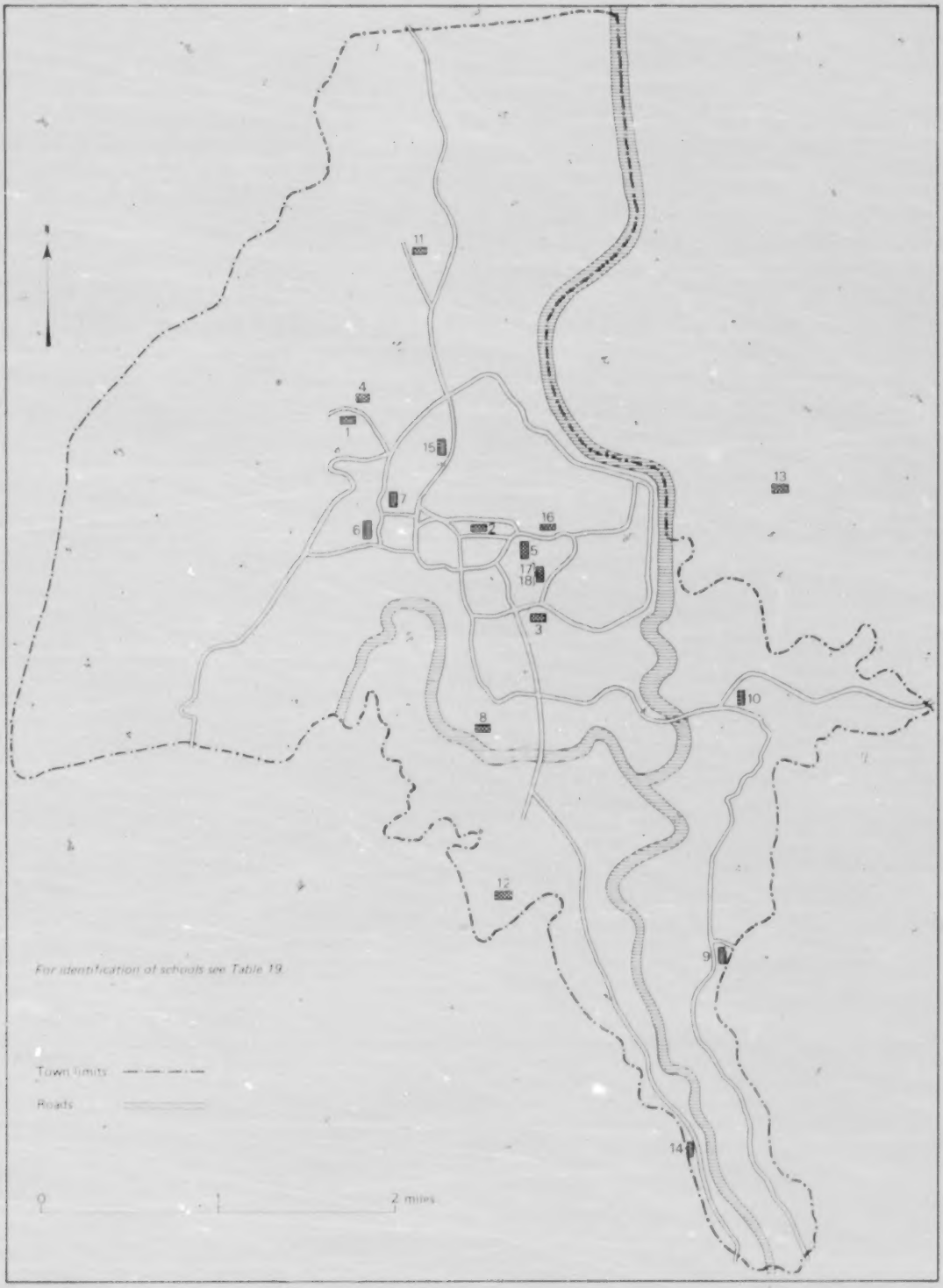
The economic rivalry, which is inevitable when people of such diverse origins compete for limited opportunities for trade, is expressed more in racial and religious terms. The growing awareness on the part of the indigenous population of its relative backwardness and steps taken during the last 25 years under a plan of development, entitled the Kandyan Peasantry Rehabilitation Scheme, have heightened their aspirations and have brought them into keen competition with the other sections of the town's population in every field and particularly in education. Another group which has stepped up their demand for 'a better deal' is the Indian Tamil population of the estates. Conscious of the role of education as a social elevator, the well-to-do and the motivated sections of the estate population seek educational opportunities for their children in towns like Badulla in a determined effort to free them from the drudgery of estate labour. While the new demands from both these groups had been mounting in recent years, the educational facilities had remained stagnant. The pressures exerted by them to share the extremely limited facilities and the resulting unpleasantness may quite easily be visualized.

B. SCHOOL NETWORK AT 1961

Location of the network of 18 schools (1961) is shown in Map 6 and relevant data are given in Table 19.

As elsewhere in Sri Lanka Christian missionaries (first Protestants and later Roman Catholics) pioneered educational development in this area. While these had established several prestigious English schools for the privileged classes and some small vernacular schools, the State effort at the earlier stage was confined to small vernacular schools. Later Buddhists and then Hindus established many good schools and meanwhile through growing government interest a Maha Vidyalaya for the Sinhalas and two in Sinhala and Tamil media for the Muslims were provided.

However, despite a steady expansion in the school system Badulla remained educationally



Map 6. Badulla town : location of schools before the re-organization

Table 19. Basic statistical data on Badulla schools before re-organization (i.e. 1963)

Name of School	Grades	Enrolment	No. of teachers	P/T ratio	Total accommodation in sq.ft.	Size of p.p.p. (sq.ft.)	Special facilities
1. Badulla M.V.	L.Kg-XII	B 823 G 600	60	23.71	14 400	10.01	Sc. XII HSR
2. Uva College	L.Kg-X	SB 860 TB 683	30	51.63	11 520	7.44	Sc. X
3. Dharmaduta Vidyalaya	L.Kg-X	SB 1 015 TB 375	43	32.32	10 360	7.45	Sc. X
4. St. Bedes College	L.Kg-XII	B 633			18 408	29. 1	Sc. XII
5. St. Ursula's Convent	L.Kg-X	G 872	41	21.26	12 000	13.76	Sc. X, HSR
6. Girls High School	L.Kg-X	G 886	26	31.00			HSR
7. Visakha	L.Kg-X	G 650	?	?	9 300	14. 4	Nil
8. Sujata Vidyalaya	L.Kg-X	G 314	9	34.88	3 200	10.19	Nil
9. Lindamulla SMS	L.Kg-X	B 227 G 230	11	41.55	2 000	4.38	Nil
10. Hindagoda Methodist	L.Kg-X	B 193 G 200	10	49.30	2 720	6.92	Nil
11. Puwakgodamulla Methodist	L.Kg-X	B 108 G 147	7	36.43	1 843	7.23	Nil
12. Mallagastenne SMS	L.Kg-X	not available					
13. Hambawela SMS	L.Kg-IX	B 110 G 116	7	34	1 600	7.00	Nil
14. Welikemulla	L.Kg-IX	B 337 G 295	19	33	4 000	6.50	Nil
15. Saraswati	L.Kg-X	B 402 G 169	20	28.55	2 056	3.69	Nil
16. R.C. Sinhala Girls School	L.Kg-X	B 53 G 273	10	32. 6			Nil
17. Muslim M.V. (Sinhala)	L.Kg-XII	not available					
18. Muslim M.V. (Tamil)	L.Kg-X	B 209 G 223	19	23	2 400	5.00	Nil

backward. Three main reasons are given for this backwardness:

- proliferation of mediocre schools through lack of planning;
- decreasing interest of Protestant missionaries, (who ran the oldest schools in town) because of a steady decline in adherents to their faith;
- dissipation of resources through continued commitment to uneconomical streams and options in the more important schools.

Seven of the establishments were Sinhala schools conducted in long halls with minimum facilities (survivals of the vernacular system), 3 were run by the Methodist mission, 3 were Government schools and 1 was conducted by the Roman Catholic Church. Despite limited facilities all but 2 schools (IX) had grades at least to X and 3 senior schools provided courses to Grade XII. Post-primary classes were inevitably small and much multi-grade teaching was conducted at this level.

An outline of the 3 senior schools (L.Kg-XII) is given as follows:

- Badulla Maha Vidyalaya (Government): 5-acre campus, has science laboratories and home science room, provides science and arts options;
- St. Bedes Boys' College (Roman Chatholic): 4-acre campus across public road from Badulla M.V., has science and home science facilities and provides for Sinhala and Tamil streams;
- Dharmaduta College (Buddhist): 1-acre campus in congested town area, science provision to Grade X, provides for Sinhala and Tamil streams; double shift - Grades I-II and VIII-XII in morning and remainder in the evening.

A brief picture of 5 other prestigious schools (formerly English) which prepared pupils for GCE (OL) is also given:

- Uva Boys' College (Protestant): 1.25-acre campus, science to Grade X, Sinhala and Tamil streams, has 2 teachers' quarters;
- St. Ursula Girls' College (Roman Catholic) 0.5-acre site, science and home science to Grade X, Sinhala, Tamil and English streams;
- Girls' High School (Protestant): 1-acre campus, home science to Grade X, Sinhala and Tamil streams;
- Vishaka Vidyalaya (Buddhist): 0.75-acre site, girls only, Sinhala medium;
- Sujata Vidyalaya (Buddhist): 0.75-acre site, girls only, Sinhala medium.

A Sarasvati Vidyalayam school was about to be constructed for Hindus (Tamil medium) on a 5-acre campus. Muslims had two government-run Maha Vidyalayas, one in the Sinhala medium and the other using Tamil. The remaining 7 schools (of which one was a vernacular school for girls adjacent to the convent) were all small, ill-equipped, poorly organized with accommodations in temporary or very old buildings. All used the Sinhala medium and prepared pupils for GCE (OL); post-primary classes were generally very small.[1] The Sinhala community of Badulla was most vociferous about the poor quality of education made available to them. Apart from the fact that all Sinhala streams/schools, with the exception of the Badulla Maha Vidyalaya, were of doubtful standard, the competition in multi-stream schools appeared to be against them. It is true that those multi-stream schools were independent as far as their admission policies were concerned and favouritism either on grounds of social class or on linguistic and religious grounds could not be ruled out altogether. The proliferation of Tamil streams in the better schools of the town (i.e. 5 as opposed to 8 Sinhala streams) had also left the impression that Tamil pupils had a greater advantage.

The distribution of facilities within the schools had also confirmed the feeling that Tamil children were in a more favourable position. For example, with regard to teachers the typical position was as shown in Table 20.

Table 20. Sinhala/Tamil breakdown of pupils and teachers

School	Enrolments		P/T ratio for whole school	Sinhala teachers	Tamil teachers	P/T ratio Sinhala	P/T ratio Tamil
	Sinhala	Tamil					
Dharmaduta College	1 015	375	32.32	28	15	36.25	25.00
Uva College	866	683	51.63	13	17	66.61	40.17

The main complaint of the Sinhala Community was that the Tamil children were being subsidized at the expense of the Sinhala children. The survey, which was carried out prior to the reorganization has confirmed this.

The same complaint, but with less force, was advanced with regard to the religious composition of the teaching staff. Hardly any Methodist Mission Christians were found in the three schools which were originally maintained by them. In Uva College, which had been an important Protestant Christian institution, there were less than 5 per cent pupils belonging to that denomination.

1. Typical enrolment: Grades VI-X, 10, 8, 9, 24, 15 respectively; same subjects, Sinhala, Arithmetic, Religion, History, Geography and Health Science taken in all of them.

Table 21. Religious break-down of pupils and teachers at St. Ursula College

Denomination	Pupils		Teachers		P/T ratio according to denomination
	No.	%	No.	%	
R.C.	273	31.30	27	65.85	10.11
Buddhist	288	33.02	5	12.20	57.60
Hindu	132	15.13	9	21.95	14.60
Non-R.C.	20	2.29	0	-	0
Muslim	156	17.88	0	-	0
Others	3	0.38	0	-	0
TOTAL	872	100.00	41	100.00	21.26

even though 33 per cent of the staff were Protestant Christians. In St. Ursula Convent the religious composition of pupils and the staff was as shown in Table 21. Thus while most people including the local Member of Parliament favoured re-organization enthusiastically and were convinced that redistribution of resources would make a significant improvement, still it is clear that racial and religious issues were bound to complicate implementation of the reform.

C. RE-ORGANIZATION POLICY AND PROPOSALS

Much experience of re-organization had been gained by Ministry officials by the time proposals for Badulla were prepared. By now it was clear that there was a dual thrust in the reform:

- Equalization of educational opportunity by removing social, racial and religious discrimination;
- economical use of scarce resources.

In this context there were three major problems to be tackled in Badulla:

- The proliferation of Tamil streams requiring more than proportionate resources to the detriment of the majority of the community who were accordingly dissatisfied;
- concentration of many separate non-viable schools on adjacent sites;
- the large number of GCE (OL) classes (Grades IX and X) in poor-quality schools causing much wasteful Grade X repetition.

Tentative proposals for re-organization were published in October 1963. Before December the closing time for receipt of representations, there was much forceful reaction. The final proposals as shown on Map 6 (page 54) were then made as follows:

- Amalgamate Badulla Maha Vidyalaya and St. Bedes Boys' College to form a co-educational senior school in the Sinhala medium having Arts and Science options; all Sinhala medium pupils from Grade IX upwards in Badulla to be transferred to this school which would also be developed as a centre of excellence; primary pupils from these two amalgamated schools to be distributed among other schools in the town;
- amalgamate the adjacent Girls High School and Vishaka Vidyalaya to form a co-educational junior school (Grades L.Kg-VII) in the Sinhala medium;
- amalgamate St. Ursula Girls' College and the Roman Catholic Sinhala School to form a 'girls only' junior school having Sinhala mediums for Grades L.Kg-VIII and English medium for Grades L.Kg-X;
- hive off part of St. Ursula Girls' College premises to establish a Tamil-medium primary school;
- reorganize Uva College to provide facilities for: (i) Tamil-medium senior school with Arts and Science options for Grades VI-XII having co-educational classes in Grades XI and XII but boys only otherwise; (ii) a Sinhala-medium junior school for boys having Grades L.Kg-VIII;
- develop Dharmaduta Vidyalaya to be a co-educational Sinhala-medium senior school catering for Grades L.Kg-XII and having Arts and Science options;
- develop Sarasvati Vidyalayam to be a co-educational Tamil-medium senior school catering for Grades L.Kg-XII and having Arts and Science options;
- retain the two Muslim Maha Vidyalayas;
- retain the other seven schools as co-educational Sinhala-medium junior schools having Grades L.Kg-VIII.

C. IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

Following publication of the proposals on 19 October 1963 powerful lobbying operations were mounted with main emphasis as follows:

- The Tamil lobby protested vehemently against the proposed reduction of Tamil-medium streams;
- the Roman Catholic lobby agitated against the proposed loss of identity of one of their leading schools and downgrading of the Convent;
- the privileged class lobby opposed the grouping of all senior stage pupils of the town into a few schools which had served only the well-to-do.

The first two lobbies were supported by leading personalities outside Badulla. Thousands of written communications were received in the different offices of the Education Ministry, directly as well as through the Prime Minister and other Ministers of the Government. Nearly a hundred deputations were entertained at different levels from that of the Assistant Director of Education of the Region to that of the Minister. A conference was found necessary with the Prime Minister as well.

After all the objections were examined at different points in the Ministry and the Prime Minister's overall sanction was obtained, the Senior Assistant Secretary to the Ministry arranged to explain the final decisions to a public meeting. From the railway station to the venue of the meeting, demonstrations of parents and pupils made demands according to the lobby to which each group belonged. But the most prominently displayed and vehemently announced demand was that there should be no change in the original proposals. The meeting was attended by thousands of people and on the stage were important religious dignitaries and political personages of national importance. In no other place, had the proposals for re-organization generated such a widespread reaction as in Badulla. The public interest in this operation may be judged from the fact that the report of this meeting appeared as the lead news story in the principal Sunday newspaper in Sinhala.

But unlike Puttalam there were no compromises. The main effort on the part of the Government had been to discuss and solve problems involving genuine hardships. It was made clear that purely sentimental reasons would not be considered adequate in the face of overwhelming educational and administrative grounds demanding the proposed re-organization. The credit for having created the background in which such an attitude could be adopted and maintained must go to the Member of Parliament.

Implementation of the proposals meant a large-scale transfer of teachers and pupils. On 6 January 1964 this was accomplished on the basis of a carefully prepared time-table which resembled an order sheet for a military campaign and Senior Ministry officials were present to make on-the-spot adjustments.

The re-organization in effect meant rationalization mainly on a linguistic basis with a certain breaking down of the combined primary/secondary organization and taking account of the strong public desire for single-sex schools. Thus in the Sinhala medium there were now two senior co-educational schools (one IX-XII and one L.Kg-XII) and eight junior schools (I-VIII) together with two single-sex junior schools, one for boys and one for girls; in the Tamil medium there were two senior co-educational schools (VI-XII) and one primary school (L.Kg-V); one 'girls only' secondary school (L.Kg-X) was provided in the English medium and two senior schools for Muslims.[1]

The re-organization eliminated privileged treatment for the better-off, reduced discrimination generally and enabled more efficient utilization of qualified staff and available equipment. Some reduction in unit cost was also achieved since an enrolment increase of 6 per cent was absorbed (including an influx of 600 pupils from neighbouring villages) without increased staff and despite the suppression of three Heads' posts.

The dignified and gracious attitude of the national leaders of the former privileged groups during the period of turmoil had a calming effect worthy of mention. The controversy stirred up by the reform brought about a certain 'politization' of the community, awakened a helpful awareness of the need for better educational facilities and hence produced more active school-community relations; this is especially true for Tamil parents. In addition, better examination results and increased participation in extra-curricular activities were recorded though this may be partly attributed to the intensive post-reform interest taken by the Ministry.

Of the 75 respondents to the 1971 evaluative questionnaire 28 were staff who had served in Badulla since the reform, 36 were parents and the remainder included 6 Ministry officials, 3 Regional Office Staff and 2 Circuit Education Officers. Of these 13 had knowledge of all schools, 23 of some, 33 of one and one hadn't knowledge of any school. Of 23 respondents who had made pre-reform representations to the Ministry, 5 felt they fully affected decisions taken, 13 thought they had some effect and 5 considered they had no effect.

The score on reasons for oppressing or supporting the reform is shown in Table 22.

1. In one co-education senior Tamil school girls were allowed only in Grades IX-XII.

Table 22. Respondents' score on reasons for opposing or supporting re-organization

Reasons for reservations	No.	Reasons for support	No.
Historical/traditional status of the school	29	Equalization of educational opportunities	40
Religious grounds	15	Maximum use of facilities	27
Sentimental Reasons	13	Economies in staff	10
Convenience of pupils	12	Elimination of duplication and overlapping of classes/subject offerings	7
Standard of Instruction	10	Economies in space	6
Adequacy/suitability of facilities	8	The Zonal structure with an eye to future development	1
Elimination of privileges	5		
Introduction of co-education at post-primary level	1		
Doing away with social and class differences	1		
Inadequate facilities for Tamil pupils	1		

Of the 75 respondents 63 thought the re-organization was necessary, 8 that it was unnecessary and 4 that the same results could have been achieved differently. No alternative was however suggested with the exception the improvements should have been made within the existing network. On the measures actually taken 3 considered them very satisfactory, 61 satisfactory and 11 unsatisfactory. Dissatisfaction of the reform process was expressed on the grounds that it was ill conceived, hurriedly executed, politically motivated, personally prejudiced and perpetuated the 'colonial' system of education failing to gear it to current needs.

Respondents considering resources were harnessed to best advantage as a result of re-organization numbered 52. Among reasons given by the 13 who thought otherwise were that unit cost could have decreased more through a total mixing and making co-educational of schools, that efficiency might have been increased by a retention of combined primary/secondary schools and that maintenance of equipment used in common after transfer deteriorated.

Of total respondents 54 felt the maximum had been done to equalize educational opportunities and achieve best results. The 21 who thought otherwise gave the following main reasons:

- A straight-forward zoning policy was better with catchment areas having sufficient 'feeder' schools to support one senior school in each zone;
- proposals should have been incorporated in legislation to avoid later 'tinkering';
- separate senior schools should have been established for science, arts and commercial subjects' options;
- maintenance of buildings and equipment should have been entrusted to local Government authorities and school welfare boards;
- indiscriminate teacher transfer should have been avoided;
- existing science classes should not have been dropped.

Respondents' score on comparison of educational effort between 1960-1970 and 1950-1960 is shown in Table 23.

It would seem from this table that the reform was far from successful in reducing racial and religious tension as 46.6 per cent of respondents felt racial tension had disimproved (though 26.3 per cent thought the opposite) and 37.3 per cent considered religious groups' relations had deteriorated (though 42.7 per cent felt these had improved). Single-sex schools also caused doubts on efficacy with regard to discipline and curriculum offered as there was only a 42.7 per cent favourable reaction to them. On balance however, the reform would seem from this table to have been favourably received.

Respondents feeling conditions were better in 1950-1960 under the assisted school system prior to nationalization thought deterioration had occurred in the efficiency and dedication of Heads of schools, the co-operation of parents, both teacher and pupil discipline, religious and racial harmony, students' and parents' aspiration, competitive spirit in both curricular and

Table 23. Comparison of educational effort 1960-1970 with that of 1950-1960

	Yes	No	Undecided
- Do you consider that the outcomes of our educational effort have been better during 1960-1970?	38	17	20
- Do you consider that there has been better planning in the provision of educational facilities in the area?	40	11	24
- Has the re-organization resulted in promoting closer and more harmonious relations among pupils and parents of			
(a) different social classes	40	14	21
(b) different religious denominations	32	28	15
(c) different races	22	35	18
- Did the creation of single sex schools result in			
(a) better discipline	32	20	23
(b) provision of fuller curricular offerings, suited to the sexes	32	20	23

extra-curricular activities and teacher-pupil relations. They also decried religious and linguistic segregation following re-organization asserting that this division was extended to the playing fields and even reduced social mixing of parents.

Fourteen statements received favouring co-educational schools emphasized their beneficial effect on discipline and academic achievement and some the advantage to be gained from better utilization of facilities and economies of scale.

Fifteen respondents felt that the re-organization should have been implemented differently against 37 who thought not. Of alternative measures suggested those along the following lines deserve mention:

- Organized seminars and discussions on the reform would have led to more rational planning;
- more thorough evaluation of the problems posed was necessary;
- more account should have been taken of curriculum diversification and development in the proposals.

There was an enormous response on recommendations for future educational development reflecting a remarkably wider interest than elsewhere in this matter, main recommendations were as follows:

(a) Systematic planning of education not merely at the national level but also at the regional and circuit level should be undertaken to ensure rational development of educational facilities in the country;
(b) educational planning should be related to and co-ordinated with the total plan for the development of the nation;
(c) all possible solutions to present educational problems should be catalogued in broad outline and subjected to scrutiny in order to discover innovative alternatives;
(d) an advisory board should be appointed to each educational division;
(e) a greater share of responsibility for education should be borne by local authorities;
(f) the administration of schools should be decentralized further and the Regional Office should have more power and authority specially in relation to staff and pupil discipline;
(g) education should be so geared as to discourage the widespread desire among the youth to get white collar jobs in the Government sector;
(h) a prominent place should be given to instruction in agriculture and industry so that optimum use can be made of resources available in different parts;
(i) measures should be taken to train children in different trades so that they will not be a burden to the country when they leave school;
(j) technical education and general education should be developed together;
(k) science and commercial subjects should be taught in more schools;
(l) pupils should be graded according to skills and aptitudes at the Junior School stage and channelized to courses which are more relevant to them;
(m) education must ensure that human labour is utilized in the fullest;
(n) each electorate should be divided into a number of educational zones and each zone should have all the facilities needed for the children living there. This would also prevent some more popular schools becoming congested while facilities in others are under-utilized;
(o) resources such as teachers, buildings,

equipment, etc. should be equally distributed in all schools;

(p) science laboratories and workshops should be centrally located so that they serve children of several schools. The present practice is wasteful and does not serve the entire town;

(q) specialist teachers should be appointed to Junior Schools as well and some of them could be currently appointed to work in several schools;

(r) attention should be paid to the use of locally available material for teaching aids in science and technical subjects and teachers must be trained in improvising equipment without depending too much on expensive imported apparatus, etc.;

(s) playgrounds and auditoria should be freely available for use by neighbouring schools and the public; and

(t) equalizing educational opportunities should not merely mean optimizing the use of available resources but provision of more and more facilities.

In addition emphasis was laid on the need for Ministry officials to carry through the implementation of reforms showing rigorous and sustained leadership while allowing also for real participation of all the interested parties.

Finally, it may be said that rationalization in cases like Badulla is extremely difficult because the many inherent community divisions have become embedded in the education system - differences in race, religion, social class, quality of instruction, adequacy of physical facilities, qualifications of teachers and attitudes of pupils and parents. Because of public disquiet at the danger of rationalization being accompanied by a 'levelling down' it is important in such circumstances that a strong and visible 'levelling up' effort should be made at the implementation stage. In this regard it becomes very evident in this case that a rational set of norms and standards constitute an important prerequisite for successful execution of reforms. Nevertheless it was also clear here that a more refined use of the 'carrot and stick' approach (necessary in the implementation of reforms) had been gained through other re-organization experiences over two years.

SIXTH CASE STUDY

Gampaha

A. BACKGROUND DATA

This case study on Gampaha and the final one on Bentara-Elpitiya in contrast to the earlier studies, deal with a larger geographical unit, the electorate or territorial unit for which a Member of Parliament is elected. Following a certain experience of re-organization in the smaller units it was considered appropriate in 1963 and 1964 to tackle this larger area (i) because of the important role played by the Member of Parliament in aiding implementation; (ii) administrative coincidence of the electorate generally with the jurisdictional area for a Circuit Education Officer; (iii) and the possibility afforded to better plan and co-ordinate the allocation of resources since the Ministry of Education had already begun to consult Members of Parliament on these matters.

In addition, the electorate was considered a suitable basis for re-organization because of size and diversity of population and education system therein, suitability for consultation and participation purposes and finally, since such an area invariably represents a microcosm of the country valuable lessons could be learned for application elsewhere.

The electorate of Gampaha has a multi-religious, rural community with pockets of urban habitations. The population is racially and linguistically Sinhala with a dominant majority Sinhala Buddhist and a strong element of Sinhala Roman Catholics.

As may be seen from Map 1, the electorate located in the Western Province, is some 80 square miles in area and is situated about 12 miles from Colombo at the nearest point. It is in the most developed part of the country and had 44 024 registered voters in 1963; population of Gampaha town in the same year was 8 676.

The area is well-watered and fertile with rich plantations of coconut, vast stretches of rich paddies, large patches of pineapple, ubiquitous plots of betel and traditional groves of mixed cultivation around rural Sinhala homes giving an air of prosperity. A large part of the population of Gampaha work in Government offices and mercantile establishments in Colombo and in industrial complexes established in or near Gampaha during the last two decades.

The electorate is well served by major trunk roads to the interior of the country and has a network of tarred and gravel roads reaching each village. In addition the main line of the Ceylon government railway passes through and a bus service criss-crosses the entire electorate.

Because Gampaha has been subjected to modern influences since the advent of Western rulers the people tend to be more knowledgeable than elsewhere and display a high level of political awareness and civic spirit.

B. SCHOOL NETWORK 1962

The network of 55 schools at 1962 was considered relatively satisfactory. Though some of these institutions had been established for over a hundred years and had inadequate physical facilities they still enjoyed good reputations. Re-organization was implemented in all but two schools - two private Roman Catholic establishments in Gampaha town.

A breakdown of schools re-organized by type and management is shown in Table 24. Three features are highlighted in this table: (i) large-scale government responsibility for education; (ii) vertical nature of school organization: only 3 infant and 3 primary schools; (iii) fair proportion of 'girls only' schools.

Organization of schools by grade as shown in Table 24(a) displays a complexity worth noting since it is not atypical of the Sri Lanka system at that time. The very large number of

Table 24. Breakdown of schools by type and management 1962 (pre-rationalization)

Type	Government		Buddhist		Roman Catholic		Baptist	
	co-educ.	girls only	co-educ.	girls only	co-educ.	girls only	co-educ.	girls only
MMV	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MV	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Senior Secondary	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Secondary	15	7	10	-	8	1	1	-
Primary	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Infant	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	27	7	10	1	8	1	1	-
GRAND TOTAL	32		11		9		1	

Table 24(a) Organization of schools by grade

L.Kg/XII	VI/XII	L.Kg/X	III/X	VI/X	L.Kg/VIII	III/VIII	L.Kg/VII	L.Kg/V	III/V	L.Kg/II
1	3	31	1	1	4	1	3	3	2	3

'L.Kg to Grade X' schools is noticeable.

Again the high incidence of very small uneconomical classes is illustrated in Table 25. Although 35 was regarded as the optimum class-size yet it is clear that not only did the vast majority of schools fail to reach this standard but also up to one-third of them had class-size of below 15.

Table 25. Breakdown by class size

Grade	Schools having the grade	Schools having enrolment below 9	10-14	15-24	25-34	Cumulative below 35	%	Schools having enrolment 35-49	50-74	75-99	100+
VI	45	7	7	7	7	28	62	6	4	2	5
VII	45	8	6	13	5	32	71	2	3	5	3
VIII	42	8	7	10	6	31	74	3	1	2	5
IX	37	6	5	10	5	26	70	3	1	-	7
X	37	2	5	10	4	21	57	4	3	-	9
XI	4	-	-	1	1	2	50	-	-	1	1
XII	4	-	-	1	1	2	50	1	1	-	-

In addition and because of the indiscriminate establishment of schools by denominational bodies, private organizations and individuals, many uneconomical substandard schools sprang up in villages already well served while large parts of the electorate were still poorly supplied. The maldistribution of facilities was particularly acute in provision of Grades XI and XII, science laboratories, workshops, home-science rooms and the teaching of mathematics.

The electorate had three prestigious schools:

1. Gampaha Maha Vidyalaya: A central High School with Grades VI-XII on a 9.5-acre campus having 1 278 enrolment (1962) and accommodations for 1 300. This was one of the best known Government English schools in the country which had facilities for teaching

science (to Grade X), home science, woodwork, weaving and pottery. The teaching staff of 49 included nine university graduates and 30 qualified teachers. Admission was by open competition and hostels were available for scholarship-holders.

2. Gampaha Maha Vidyalaya: A double-shift Central High School (VI-XII) on a 10-acre campus having 1 697 enrolment and accommodations for 1 080. The teaching staff of 62 included 9 university graduates and 33 qualified teachers and admission here was also by open competition.
3. Ratnavali Balika Vidyalaya: A 'girls only' school in Gampaha town with enrolment 1 301 in Grades I-XII and facilities for science to Grade X and home science to Grade XII. The teaching staff of 37 included 5 university graduates and 27 qualified teachers. This Buddhist Assisted School was nationalized in 1960.

Alutgama Maha Vidyalaya enrolled 649 pupils in Grades VI-XII in premises on a campus of 4.5 acres with official accommodations for 560. The remaining 49 schools included in re-organization were Sinhala institutions with non-partitioned classrooms and minimum facilities and none were equipped to teach science. Thirty-three of these schools prepared pupils for the GCE (OL) at Grade X with an arts based curriculum.

C. RE-ORGANIZATION POLICY AND PROPOSALS

Gampaha was the first electorate chosen for re-organization due to the initiative of its Member of Parliament. Existing 'peoples committees', unofficial voluntary organizations with well-informed leadership, played a significant role from the start by constituting an excellent means for two-way communication between the Ministry and the public.

Following this form of 'popular participation' a policy evolved which may be summarized as follows:

(a) The electorate should be divided into a number of educational zones, taking into consideration the distribution and the density of population, the availability of transport facilities, natural barriers like hills and rivers and traditional or administrative divisions already in existence;
(b) each zone should be educationally self-contained in the sense that a child could have facilities for instruction from Grade I to university entrance;
(c) Although each zone was expected to provide schooling facilities for children living within it, there should be no compulsion that a child should go only to a school within the zone where his home is located;
(d) the schools which had already become prestigious educational institutions should be developed as centres of excellence and they should be available to all children on the basis of merit as displayed in an open competitive admission examination;
(e) the process of re-organization should not be confined merely to the amalgamation, separation or closure of existing schools or sections thereof but also should extend to decisions relating to the location of new schools;
(f) in the course of re-organization facilities which could be diverted for use as vocational schools should be identified, besides indicating locations for new vocational schools;
(g) co-education should be accepted in principle and single-sex schools eliminated other than where tradition or facilities compelled their continuance;
(h) every school should be given a new name commemorating either a national hero or a prominent benefactor so as to remove designations which showed some schools as inferior to others or revealed their original managements;
(i) the grade-wise structure of schools should be basically three-fold, viz: (1) Senior High Schools with Grades VI to XII; (2) Junior Schools with Grades from Lower Kindergarten to VII and (3) Infant Schools from L.Kg to Grade II and any other variations like L.Kg to Grades X or L.Kg to Grades V or III to Grades VIII or X may be permitted only where either the best utilization of available built accommodation or factors like distance from nearest school necessitated them;
(j) in transferring children from one school to another as necessitated by the change of status of schools on re-organization, every effort should be taken to ensure that children in post-primary classes - particularly in examination classes (namely, Grades IX, X) - improved their schooling facilities as a result;
(k) teachers in the electorate, if found to be in excess of the accepted teacher/pupil ratio should not be transferred out;
(l) there should be no objection to children from adjoining electorates joining the re-organized schools;
(m) the Ministry should draw up a plan for development, concentrating at first on the schools identified to be Senior High Schools, that is, the focal points of the school system of each zone.

In addition to these, the Ministry and the Committees accepted the principles relating to economy and optimum use of facilities available.

Proposals prepared after six months of surveys,

committee discussions, public meetings and analysis by expert teams, were published by pamphlet of 29 November 1962. Following initial public reaction a supplementary pamphlet was issued on 5 December; final proposals are illustrated on Map 7.

The electorate was divided into 13 educational zones with each to have at least one Senior High School with classes up to Grade XII in Arts, Science, Commercial and Technical streams.[1] Most schools which had small post-primary classes were re-organized as Junior Schools with classes from L.Kg-VIII. Locations of new schools and buildings which could be converted to vocational schools were identified. All schools were to be co-educational and the proposals contained detailed instructions on the transfer of pupils where warranted.[2]

The proposed re-organization of schools by grade and zone is shown in Table 26. Here a restructuring towards two types of school - L.Kg to VIII and VI to XII - is evident; it was intended to continue this trend as opportunities arose. It may also be noticed that an increased number of schools was also proposed.

D. IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

The careful preparation and participation process involving the 'people's committees' paid dividends in this case as the proposals were enthusiastically received by most people. Implementation commenced on 1 January 1963.

As shown by progress reports Gampaha schools made relatively rapid development over the following six years. The analysis and diagnosis of the educational system made at re-organization time formed the basis for future more sophisticated planning. A major shortcoming worth mentioning however, is that the attempt made here (unlike previous cases) to take a more profound view in planning educational development, including especially the development of vocational and technical education, was not successful. Indeed even at 1971 not much progress was noted in this regard.

This failure may be attributed mainly to lack of co-ordination between the Department of Education and the Department of Technical Education and Training which also had its own programme for setting up Junior Technical Schools. In addition the buildings set aside for vocational schools in the proposals consisted of accommodation either unsuitable or not required for other purposes.

Nevertheless a more rational system emerged with better distribution of resources and with a certain reduction of unit costs. Some 27 schools improved their facilities and staffing situations and 772 pupils of Grades IX-XII were transferred to schools with better facilities. There was a 19 per cent enrolment increase from 21 723 to 25 915 including a certain influx from other electorates attracted to re-organized schools. At the same time there was a modest increase of 6 per cent in teaching staff from 897 to 951 and the pupil/teacher ratio was raised from 24 to reach a national norm of 27. These factors together with an improved utilization rate for accommodation are indicative of reduction in unit costs though it must be mentioned that some proposals were included for other than economic reasons such as the retention of at least six infant schools and one primary school.

The 'popular participation' undertaken at re-organization time also forged close school-community links which continued to develop setting a headline in this regard for the rest of the country. On community relations it should be mentioned that the majority demand that schools should be named after national heroes did little to ease religious tension (which had built up at the time of nationalization of schools) in areas where Roman Catholics were predominant when those selected for this honour were all Buddhist.

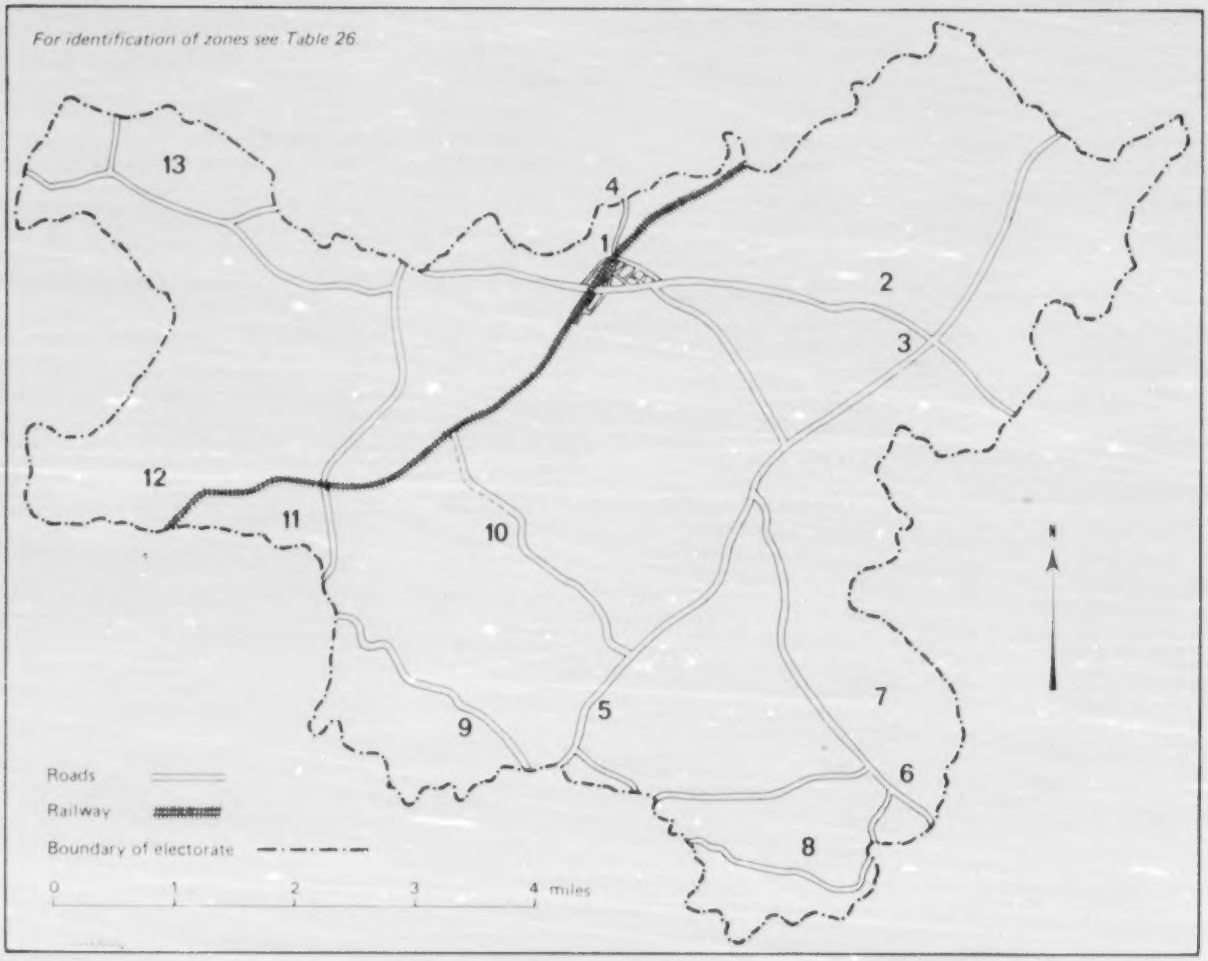
Of the 218 respondents to the 1971 evaluative questionnaire there were 7 Education Ministry or Department officials, 32 Heads of schools and 90 teachers who had served in this electorate at the time of re-organization. The remaining 89 were parents selected at random. Among respondents 23 knew all schools in the electorate, 131 knew some, 58 knew one only and six knew none. Of seventy-six respondents who had made pre-reform representations to the Department of Education, 7 felt they fully affected decisions taken, 37 thought they had some effect and 13 considered they had no influence.

Respondents' reasons for opposing or supporting re-organization are illustrated in Table 27.

Among 197 replies 157 felt re-organization was necessary against 36 who thought not and four who considered the same results could have been otherwise achieved. It should be mentioned that respondents who felt the reform was unnecessary were also those who had objections on grounds of traditional school status, religion and sentiment and the four who considered the same results otherwise realizable offered no alternative methods.

In comparison of conditions after and prior to re-organization 10 thought them very satisfactory,

1. A Senior High School to be provided eventually in Bulugahagoda, a rather less developed zone.
2. All schools co-educational with the exception of one 'boys only' and one 'girls only' in Gampaha Town.



Map 7. Gampaha : educational zones after the re-organization

Table 26. Proposed re-organisation of schools by grade

Zone	Name	Schools with grades										Total	Additions
		L.Kg-XII	VI-XII	III-XII	III-X	L.Kg-X	L.Kg-VIII	III-VIII	L.Kg-V	L.Kg-II	Voc. Sch.		
1	Gampaha Town		2	1	2		1		1	2		9	1 of VI-XII 'girls only'
2	Alagalla		1				2			1		4	
3	Yakkala	1							1			2	1 L.Kg-V proposed
4	Henaratgoda		1			1	2			3	1	8	2 L.Kg-II and 1 Voc. Sch. proposed
5	Imbulgoda		1				2		2		2	7	2 Voc. Sch. proposed
6	Weliveriya		1				1					2	
7	Mediriguriya			1						1		2	
8	Enderaluwa		1			1	2					4	
9	Pugoda		1			1	2			1		5	
10	Pallalavagoda		1			1	3				1	6	
11	Gonahitiyawa		2				1	1		1	1	8	Existing VI-XII to be Centre of excell. 1 other (VI-XII and 1 Voc. Sch. (proposed
12	Bulugahagoda					2	1				1	4	1 Voc. Sch. proposed; VI-XII to be developed
13	Mahara		1				4				1	6	
TOTAL		1	12	2	2	6	23	1	4	9	7	67	
TOTAL before re-organisation		1	1	—	2	11	4	1	3	3	—	47	also 1 (VI-X) 3, 1Kg-VIII, 2 III-V)

Table 27. Respondents' score on reasons for opposing or supporting re-organization

Reasons for reservations	No.	Reasons for support	No.
Convenience of pupils	62	Equalization of educational opportunities	119
Standard of instruction	57	Maximum use of facilities	83
Historical/traditional status of of the school	35	Economies in staff	50
Adequacy/suitability of facilities	33	Economies in space	38
Religious grounds	25	Elimination of duplication and overlapping of classes/ subject offerings	34
Elimination of privileges	18		
Sentimental reasons	16		

152 satisfactory and 56 unsatisfactory. On use of resources as a result of re-organization 117 felt this was maximal but 95 thought not. There was no valid support however, for the latter views but generalizations on political pressures and inadequacy of facilities.

Of the 218 respondents, 100 (45.9 per cent) thought that the maximum had been done within the constraints imposed by available resources to equalize educational opportunity and achieve best results as against 106 (45.6 per cent) who felt otherwise. This division of opinion indicates that the high level satisfaction with the reform expressed earlier refers only to the measures actually taken and that much higher expectations from re-organization had been held. Again few views were offered as to what better measures might have been taken to improve opportunities and results except the division of the 'open hall' schools into classrooms and increased emphasis in well-equipped rooms for home science, weaving, handicrafts, singing, dancing and better library facilities.

On comparison of educational effort between 1960-1970 and the previous decade respondents views' are shown in Table 28. Replies here support earlier views that while the education situation improved as a result of the reform, religious and racial relations did not.

However, views shown in Table 28 denote success for the reform in harmonizing relations between social classes; success in improving educational planning is also indicated. The sizeable minority who considered that the creation of single sex schools neither improved discipline nor provided a fuller curriculum reflect attitudes in a typical rural community; those favouring co-education were mainly Department officers and teachers.

It must also be noted from Table 28 that a good proportion of respondents felt that educational conditions were better during 1950-1960 and in the following ways:

- There was better motivation with suitable jobs available on receiving the required qualifications;
- availability of English medium teaching and adequate supply of good text books;
- smaller classes and more teacher authority led to better control;
- dedication of both pupils and teachers was better;
- there was no political interference in the transfer of teachers.

Almost half of the respondents thought that different measures should have been adopted in implementing the reform - 94 as against 96 who felt otherwise. Suggestions made on these other measures may be summarized as follows:

- All schools without exception should have been nationalized;
- an admission scheme to avoid the rush to more popular schools should have been devised;
- with limited facilities for science teaching admission to schools having them should have been by open competitive examination;
- priority on staffing and facilities should have been given to rural schools;
- educational needs should have formed the major criterion for teacher placement rather than choice of teachers;
- to avoid duplication of classes the catchment areas of 'feeder schools' should not have been allowed to overlap with Maha Vidyalayas.

Recommendations for future development also focused on admission and schools' organization aspects. Suggestions were made for the establishment of a few centres of excellence for brighter pupils with selection solely by open examination. Some felt that streaming into Arts, Science, Commercial and Vocational subjects should start

Table 28. Comparison of educational effort 1960-1970 with that of 1950-1960

	Yes	No	No Comment
- Do you consider that the outcomes of our educational effort have been better?	116	66	36
- Do you consider that there has been better planning in the provision of education facilities in the area?	124	40	54
- Has re-organization resulted in promoting closer and more harmonious relations among pupils and parents of			
(a) different social classes	156	61	1
(b) different religious denominations	117	101	0
(c) different races	107	81	30
- Did the creation of single sex school result in			
(a) better discipline	136	73	9
(b) the provision of fuller curricular offerings suited to the sexes	111	62	45

as early as Grade VI with the programme more closely geared to national and local needs. Others thought schools should specialize separately in these options at higher secondary level. It was also suggested that arrangements should be made to ensure the distribution of resources in accordance with needs rather than political pressure. Finally a plea was made for more comprehensive educational planning to include out-of-school, cultural, vocational and professional activities in addition to the formal system, and for the setting up of norms as a prelude to further re-organization.

In conclusion, it may be observed that zoning or the definition of catchment areas (though rudimentary) played a basic role in rationalization here. It is clear however, that more precise geographical definition of catchment areas and statement of regulations on pupil movement and admissions is necessary for success. As stated earlier the 'people's committees' were very helpful and facilitated popular participation but some shortcomings relating to them should be mentioned such as: (i) political bias since membership was confined to supporters of the Member of Parliament; (ii) too much interference in administrative procedures. A certain failure in the development of vocational and technical education referred to earlier highlighted the need for greater horizontal and vertical co-ordination at Department of Education level. It may be said too, that the experience gained generally in Gampaha inspired many other reforms undertaken later including administrative decentralization implemented between 1962 and 1966.

SEVENTH CASE STUDY

Bentara-Elpitiya

A. BACKGROUND DATA

The sprawling electorate of Bentara-Elpitiya in the Southern Province is rural in character and covers some 140 square miles (See Map I). The population is Sinhala Buddhist with very few Christians and Muslims; there were 52 449 registered voters in 1963. Local rivalries based on the traditional stratification of society are strong and often aggravated by concentrations of different castes in the same localities.

Though well-watered by many rivers and having fertile land the electorate remains economically backward. This was traditionally a cinnamon growing area but rubber and tea plantations were developed also during the last century. Much of the low-lying rice-land has also been planted with rubber to yield a cash-crop. Here regular flooding is a serious menace not only to rice cultivation but also to communications.

People who live by fishing in the small central area are somewhat better off than the rest of the population who are mainly cultivators living just above subsistence level. Landless peasants work as labourers in the plantations. There are no industries other than some cottage crafts. A tradition for migration exists since the early development of Baddegama as a seat of English learning.

Every village has its Buddhist temple and monks who are local religious, cultural and educational leaders have great influence over the people. It may be added that Bentara-Elpitiya represents a typical Sinhala-only rural area in many respects.

B. SCHOOL NETWORK 1962

The network of 101 schools at 1962 (all co-educational except six boys and seven girls schools) was considered to be one of the least satisfactory in the country. Of the sixteen schools listed as Maha Vidyalayas eight had been upgraded since 1956 in a general move to enable appointment of university graduates as teachers in Sinhala-medium village schools, which apart from providing a few classes in Grades XI-XII and appointing some graduates had no resources befitting their senior high school status. In effect, only six of the sixteen Maha Vidyalayas had Grades XI and XII with enrolment of 80 and 88 therein respectively.

Again (as in Gampaha) there was uneven vertical organization of schools as shown in Table 29.

Likewise, there was a proliferation of small sub-standard and uneconomical schools though all pupils lived within easy walking distance of them. In Table 30 a random sample of enrolments gives some indication of the situation at 1962.[1]

The wide range in teacher utilization as indicated by pupil/teacher ratio, with very many schools well above the national average of 27 and a large proportion of unqualified teachers are also indicated in Table 30.[2] It was estimated that in 63 per cent of schools pupil/teacher ratio was above 30 while it was below 25 in some 12 per cent; an estimate of 50 per cent unqualified teachers for the electorate was given as against the national average of 30 per cent.

Standard and utilization of accommodation was also unsatisfactory. It was reckoned that 32 per cent of schools had over 11 square feet and 41 per cent less than eight square feet per pupil respectively; the recommended norm was ten square feet. (See Appendix III) Provision of

1. The sample of 23 represents 27 per cent of 85 Sinhala schools.
2. Further sample data reflecting the staffing situation are given in the following Appendixes.

Table 29. Organization of schools by grade

VI/XII	L.Kg/XII	L.Kg/XI	L.Kg/X	L.Kg/VIII	L.Kg/VII	L.Kg/VI	L.Kg/V	L.Kg/III	L.Kg/II
3	3	1	56	16	3	4	12	1	2

Table 30. Enrolments and teachers in a sample of schools in 1962

	Enrolments												Teachers			
School	L.Kg	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	Tot.	Trained	Certi-fied	Un-qualified	P/T
Horangalle	20	33	26	25	31	26	9	7	2	5	7	191	2	2	4	24
Niyagama	37	25	26	25	28	21	9	4	1	2	7	166	1	3	3	24
Rekadahena	72	68	43	38	46	22	17	23	21	15	37	402	3	4	5	33
Manampitiya	33	45	18	14	11	4	8	-	-	-	-	133	1	0	3	33
Talgaspe	49	31	48	36	36	27	14	15	9	-	-	265	0	4	4	33
Naranowita	26	16	23	22	12	10	9	8	-	-	-	126	1	0	3	31
Martupitiya	24	15	16	10	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	73	1	0	2	24
Kanattegoda	39	63	15	26	16	25	16	17	12	6	8	243	1	0	4	49
Uhanowita	30	7	16	3	7	4	-	-	-	-	-	72	0	0	6	12
Himbutugoda	41	22	13	17	21	16	9	12	3	7	6	167	1	3	3	24
Hattaka	51	36	39	34	37	37	26	25	22	20	30	357	4	2	6	30
Kudagala	34	34	30	23	20	20	16	4	4	-	-	185	2	3	1	31
St. Theresa	37	46	56	64	68	41	52	47	27	33	24	495	5	1	7	38
Diyaparaduwa	7	8	2	5	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	31	0	0	2	15
Hungantota	23	34	15	20	33	27	12	8	3	5	-	200	2	8	7	12
Horawala	45	18	27	22	31	28	5	7	3	-	-	186	1	1	5	27
Mahawila	22	23	18	16	16	5	11	6	4	8	-	129	1	2	1	32
Uragaha	24	50	37	32	32	28	23	22	10	10	14	282	2	3	3	35
Ambana	24	23	23	16	17	17	10	10	6	-	-	146	1	2	3	24
Galhenkanda	46	41	42	37	22	27	19	15	10	10	10	279	2	3	3	35
Kuttiyawatte	17	11	6	14	1	6	3	-	-	-	-	58	2	0	1	19
Pataweliwiiiya	4	3	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	12	0	1	1	6
Meddewela	24	34	16	24	20	9	6	5	4	-	-	142	1	2	0	47
MEAN	32	30	25	23	23	18	14	14	9	11	16		1.5	1.8	3.4	
MEDIAN	30	31	23	22	20	21	11	12	5	8	10		1	2	4	
RANGE	4 to 72	3 to 68	1 to 56	1 to 64	1 to 68	1 to 41	3 to 52	4 to 47	1 to 27	2 to 33	6 to 37		0 to 5	0 to 8	0 to 7	

special facilities was also extremely inadequate. Only two schools had science teaching facilities and three schools facilities for teaching home science, some crafts and commercial subjects up to Grade X - and this in an electorate catering for 26 000 pupils.

However, there were some fairly good schools such as Gramini (Bentota) and Ananda Maha Vidyalaya (Elpitiya) some 16 miles apart, both having classes from Grades VI-XII and limited facilities for science teaching to Grade X; the former also had certain facilities for home science and some vocational subjects teaching and the latter facilities for commerce, woodwork and ceramics. Conditions in these two schools are contrasted with those in three other Maha Vidyalayas in Table 31 though the latter are also considered relatively good schools.

Of 85 Sinhala schools, 73 were conducted by the Government in open-hall accommodations established towards the end of the last century with a limited aim of literacy and now in a completely inadequate condition. Some more recent Government schools in premises donated by local people as a means of access to the teaching profession were equally sub-standard.

Table 31. Teaching conditions at five schools

	Campus in acres	Accommodations in sq. ft.	Enrolments in higher classes: VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total	Teachers: University Graduates	Trained	Untrained	Special facilities
Ganora	6	7 200	75	72	109	106	251	25	28	667	3	...	...	Sc., H.Sc. Voc.
Ananda	3	5 840	101	110	120	180	284	45	38	884	2	...	...	Sc. Comm., W.W., Ceramics
Kahaduwa	4	6 480	-	-	-	56	82	38	11	187	1	9	11	NS
Pulgahawila	5	6 800	-	-	-	28	44	27	8	103	4	5	4	W.W., Ceramics, Weaving
Poddiwala	2.3	4 120	-	-	-	28	34	38	-	110	3	5	8	H.Sc. Agriculture

The ten Buddhist schools, too, after nationalization were squeezed into corners of temple property in totally inadequate condition. Three schools run by the Roman Catholic Church in the village of Elpitiya were however well maintained.

C. RE-ORGANIZATION POLCY AND PROPOSALS

Responsibility for policy making, proposals and implementation of re-organization in this case was delegated to the Assistant Director of Education, Southern Region, largely on account of distance from Colombo. Consultation in this region was confined mainly to that between the Assistant Director and the local Member of Parliament who had been a teacher prior to his election and who took a deep personal interest in the entire re-organization process in Bentara-Elpitiya. In contrast to Gampaha there were no 'people's committees' here and no direct consultation with teachers, parents or the public was arranged.

Taking account of the general policy on re-organization enunciated by the Ministry and on their own judgements in the political, cultural and social situation in the electorate, the following basic principles for reform were evolved:

(a) The electorate should have an adequate number of senior high schools with Grade XII classes in Arts, Science, Commerce and Agriculture streams, and for this purpose a number of existing schools with a potential for further development should be identified for upgrading as Maha Vidyalayas;

(b) the number of schools preparing pupils for the GCE (OL) Examination (i.e. Grade X) should be realistically scaled down and the children in the examination classes (i.e. Grades IX and X) should be grouped in schools with adequate facilities;

(c) uneconomical small classes should be eliminated by restructuring the schools and converting as many of the small schools as possible into Infant, Primary and Junior Schools. But no school should be closed down;

(d) the teaching staff should be reallotted to schools according to needs in order to ensure (i) that the distribution was more equitable and (ii) the better qualified teachers were posted to schools with examination classes.

In the proposals released to the public for comment in November 1962, all 101 schools in the electorate were grouped into six divisions as follows but simply for identification and with no pretension at zoning educationally:

(1)	Bentota	- 8 schools
(2)	Haburugala	- 15 schools
(3)	Elpitiya	- 28 schools
(4)	Pitigala	- 20 schools
(5)	Talgaswala	- 13 schools
(6)	Etkandura and Kahaduwa	- 17 schools

Two schools only, the Government Muslim School, Tundwa and the Estate School of Kitulvitigala, were excluded from re-organization.

The proposals made may be summarized as follows:

- Amalgamate two small schools in Goluwamulla;
- divide Opatha-Awittawa Maha Vidyalaya into two schools;
- develop 15 schools (identified) as multi-streamed Maha Vidyalayas;[1]
- reduce number of schools providing Grades IX and X GCE (OL) from 65 to 26;[2]
- convert certain other schools with small classes to infant schools (L.Kg-II) or Primary Schools (L.Kg-V or III-V) or to junior schools (L.Kg-VIII or III-VIII).[3]

1. Following political pressure based on local rivalries this number was subsequently increased to 18.
2. Later due to political pressure it was agreed to reduce from 65 to 39 only.
3. Here again, due either to political pressure or distance problems nine junior schools were permitted to have Grades IX and X on a temporary basis.

D. IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

Structural change brought about by the re-organization is shown in Table 32 (Map 8 shows the schools in 1962, before re-organization).

While it is clear from the table that an attempt was made to restructure the system towards four types of schools - infant (to Grade II), primary (to Grade V), junior (to Grade VIII) and senior (to Grade XII) - nevertheless it is also evident that constraints were such that significant progress in this direction can hardly be claimed. Public resistance to change often led by the Chief Buddhist monk of the village temple, was always strong and sometimes daring. For example, the people of Agaliya led by a young Buddhist monk enlisted the support of a philanthropist in Colombo, a native of this village, and had a modern science laboratory constructed at their school. On balance, however, despite concessions made on the original proposals, re-organization did bring some rationalizations into the system.

Among the 89 respondents to the 1971 evaluative questionnaire there were 12 Heads of schools, 27 teachers and 40 parents. Of these 30 had knowledge of some schools, 37 of one school only and three knew none at all. Seventeen respondents had made pre-reform representations to the Department of Education but only seven of these felt their expressed views had influenced decisions taken.

Respondents' reasons for opposing or supporting re-organization are shown on Table 33. It is obvious from this table that reasons for opposition were rather subjective.

Of the 89 respondents, 59 thought the re-organization necessary against 17 who felt it was unnecessary and 13 who considered the same result could have been achieved differently. Other ways of achieving the same results named by these latter were through the award of more scholarships to talented pupils ensuring general basic education for all while selecting only gifted students for admission to higher stages and requiring people who could afford it, to send their children to fee-levying schools.

While the re-organization measures taken were rated very satisfactory by one respondent and satisfactory by 55, they were considered unsatisfactory by 33. Available resources were thought to have been used maximally by 52 as against 29 respondents who felt otherwise. Lack of methodical preparation of the reform including consultation with parents and teachers together with downgrading of schools through removal of second stage examination classes, which in turn removed an important source of motivation for first stage pupils were cited as counter-productive to best use of resources.

Twenty-eight respondents thought the maximum had been done within the constraints imposed by available resources against 18 who felt otherwise. Among the main measures cited by the latter which might beneficially have been taken were the following:

- More comprehensive view of the educational problems of the electorate and a greater effort to reduce imbalances;
- zoning of schools with firm regulations on admissions;
- admission to higher education on the basis of open competitive examination;
- reform regulations to enable appointment of specialist teachers to junior schools;
- admissions to be restricted to places available;
- location of Maha Vidyalayas only where Grades IX and X warranted them.

Respondents' views on comparison of educational effort 1960-1970 with that of 1950-1960 are shown in Table 34. Reasons given by the sizeable proportion of respondents who felt the planning effort in 1960-1970 had disimproved included the following:

- With a smaller and less complex system there was less political interference in 1950-1960 and more discipline and dedication among teachers and pupils was then evident;
- provision of facilities has not kept pace with enrolment growth causing deterioration in quality;
- unification of the school system has been detrimental in removing the competitive element among schools;
- curtailment of parental choice of schools has blocked opportunity for educational advance for many pupils.

Table 34 shows a general feeling that the re-organization helped to improve relations between social classes. Paucity of comment on religious and racial relations and on single-sex schools on the other hand reflects the fact that these are not problematic in this electorate.

On possible alternative approaches 46 respondents had no comment, 16 thought there were none and 27 felt other methods should have been taken. A summary of the suggestions made by these latter is given as follows:

1. Instead of being imposed by Department officers the reform should have been prepared and implemented with the participation of teachers and parents;
2. a more comprehensive view of educational development should have been taken including provisions for agricultural and technical education;
3. a zoning approach should have been taken to the establishment of Maha Vidyalayas with the regulation that a minimum distance of five miles be maintained between these schools. Likewise infant and junior schools should have been

Table 32. Structural change following re-organization

	VI-XII	III-XII	L.Kg-XII	L.Kg-XI	VI-X	III-X	L.Kg-X	L.Kg-IX	III-VIII	L.Kg-VII	L.Kg-VI	III-V	L.Kg-V	L.Kg-III	L.Kg-II
Pre-reform	7		1	1	-	-	55	16	-	1	4	-	12	1	3
Post-reform	8	2	6	-	2	1	1	30[1]	1[2]			2	26		1
CHANGE	+1	+2	+5	-1	+2	+1	-54	+14	+1	-1	-4	+2	+14	-1	-2

1. Eight to have Grades IX and X temporarily
2. One to have Grades IX and X temporarily

Table 33. Respondents' score on reasons for opposing or supporting re-organization

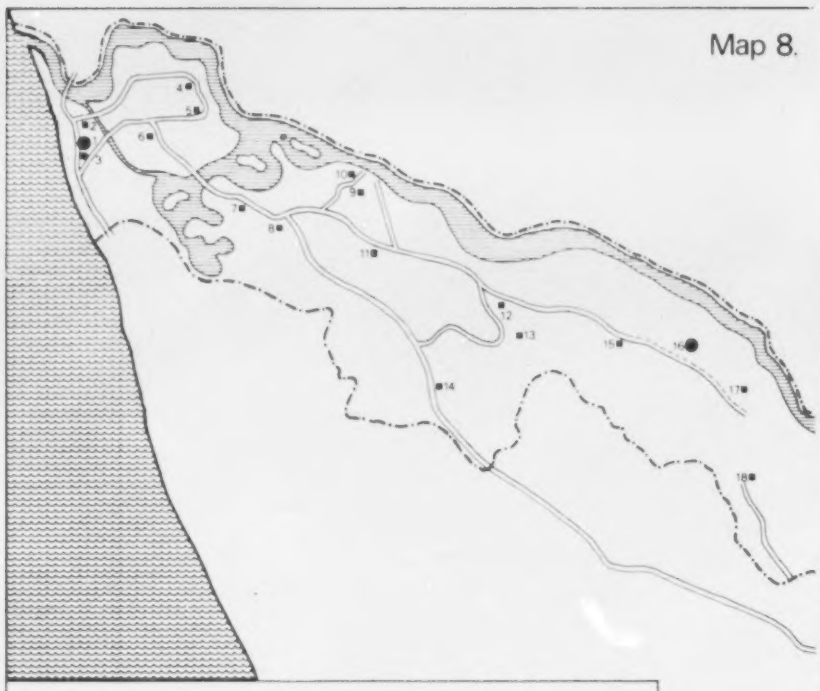
Reasons for reservations	No.	Reasons for support	No.
Historical/traditional status of the school	22	Equalization of educational opportunities	23
Sentimental reasons	21	Maximum use of facilities	15
Convenience of pupils	20	Economies in staff	14
Standard of instruction	14	Elimination of duplication and overlapping of classes/subject offerings	10
Adequacy/suitability of facilities	7	Economies in space	9
Elimination of privileges	6	Equal distribution of money voted for education[1]	1
Ineffectiveness of re-organization as a solution to a situation which called for revolutionary solutions[1]	2	Expectation that rural children would get a better deal[1]	1

1. Reasons given independently by respondents.

Table 34. Comparison of education effort 1960-1970 with that of 1950-1960

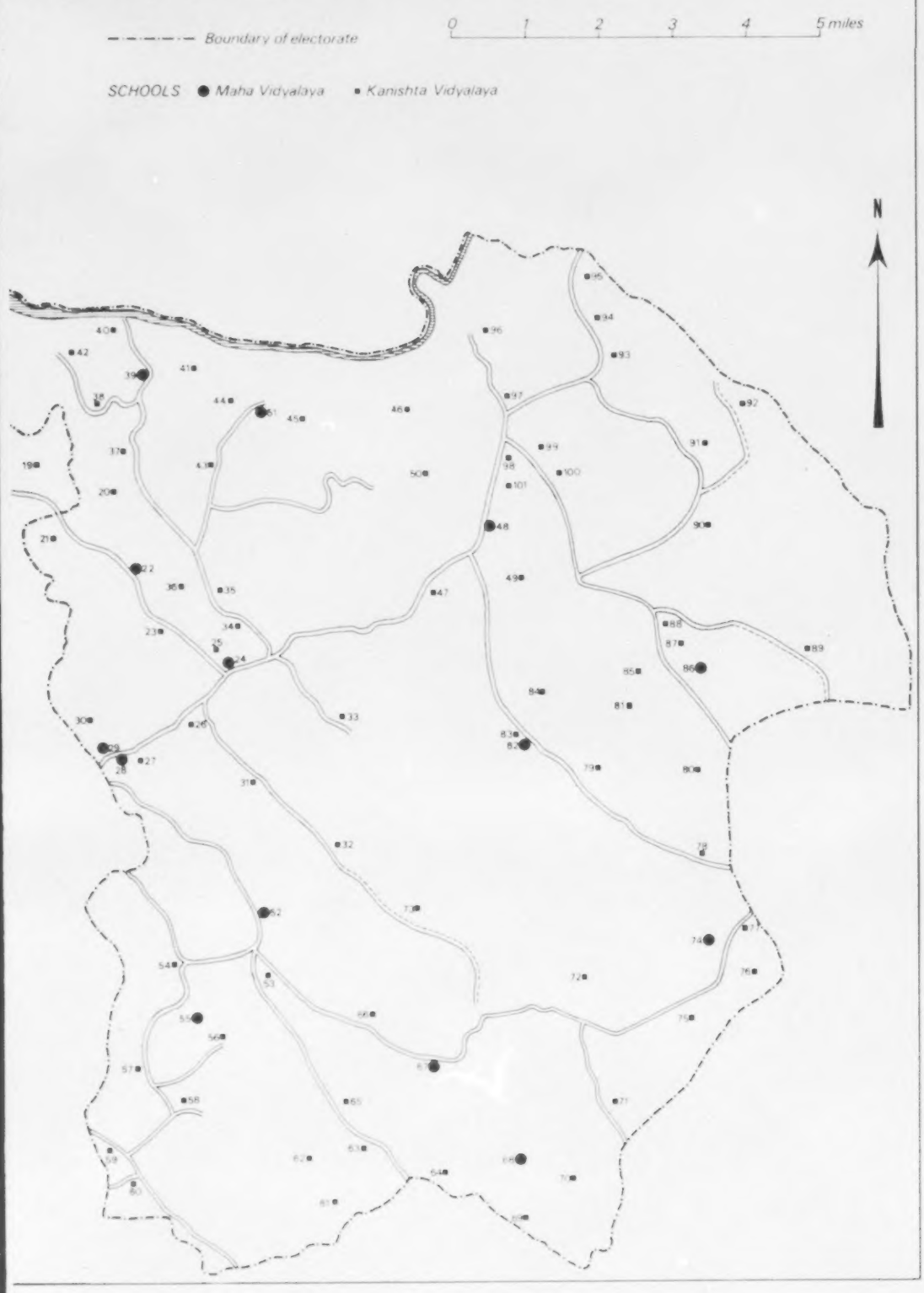
	Yes	No	No Comment
- Do you consider that the outcomes of our educational effort have been better?	52	32	5
- Do you consider that there has been better planning in the provision of educational facilities in the area?	55	30	4
- Has re-organization resulted in promoting closer and more harmonious relations among pupils and parents of			
(a) different social classes	54	27	8
(b) different religious denominations	21	14	54
(c) different races	20	14	55
- Did the creation of single sex schools result in			
(a) better discipline	15	18	56
(b) the provision of fuller curricular offerings suited to the sexes	15	18	56

Map 8.



1. Bentota Gamini M.V.
2. Bentota Kumara K.V.
3. Bentota Angagoda K.V.
4. Kommala Wadumulla K.V.
5. Bodhimaluwa K.V.
6. Hungantota K.V.
7. Dedduwa K.V.
8. Haburugala K.V.
9. Tunduwa K.V.
10. Tunduwa Muslim K.V.
11. Elakaka K.V.
12. Horawala K.V.
13. Mahawila K.V.
14. Miriswatta K.V.
15. Moragoda K.V.
16. Rantotuwila M.V.
17. Kotuwabeddehena K.V.
18. Uragaha K.V.
19. Hiparawatta K.V.
20. Diyaparaduwa K.V.
21. Welivala Mariana K.V.
22. Nawadagala M.V.
23. Batuwanhena K.V.
24. Elpitiya Ananda M.V.
25. Elpitiya Ananda K.V.
26. Igala Saranankara K.V.
27. St. Theresa's K.V.
28. St. Theresa's B.M.V.
29. St. Mary's M.V.
30. Igala Talawa K.V.
31. Kudagala K.V.
32. Pituwala K.V.
33. Wallambagala K.V.
34. Elpitiya Bogha K.V.
35. Ganegoda K.V.
36. Ketapola Abeytissa K.V.
37. Goluwamulla K.V.
38. Imbulapitiya Ramadoia K.V.
39. Avittawa Nalanda M.V.
40. Avittawa Seewali K.V.
41. Puwakgahawela K.V.
42. Sumangala K.V.
43. Diyala Parakumba K.V.
44. Omatta K.V.
45. Inala Omatta K.V.
46. Delpona K.V.
47. Tulgaspe K.V.
48. Amugoda M.V.
49. Kanaththagoda Ananda K.V.
50. Kotuvitigala Sin. Mixed Estate School
51. Omatta M.V.
52. Ella Tanabaddegama M.V.
53. Tanabaddegama K.V.
54. Ethkandura M.V.
55. Nambarawatta M.V.
56. Divithura Dhammatilaka K.V.
57. Meddewela K.V.
58. Galahenkanda K.V.
59. Gurusinghegoda K.V.
60. Ampegama K.V.
61. Akuretiya K.V.
62. Nugetota K.V.
63. Agaliya K.V.
64. Pataweliwitiya K.V.
65. Polgahawila K.V.
66. Eramulla K.V.
67. Kahaduwa M.V.
68. Weliwitiya M.V.
69. Kuttiyawatta K.V.
70. Weliwitiya K.V.
71. Rekadahena K.V.
72. Waturuwila K.V.
73. Ambaba K.V.
74. Nivagama M.V.
75. Horangalle K.V.
76. Niyagama K.V.
77. Niyagama Mahabodhi K.V.
78. Wattehena K.V.
79. Porowagama K.V.
80. Manampita K.V.
81. Duwegoda K.V.
82. Naranowita Porowagama M.V.
83. Naranowita Porowagama K.V.
84. Sumanatissa K.V.
85. Banangala Kariawasam K.V.
86. Poddiwala M.V.
87. Hattaka K.V.
88. Weihena K.V.
89. Bambarawana K.V.
90. Martupitihya K.V.
91. Godaamuna K.V.
92. Bangamukanda K.V.
93. Hattaka K.V.
94. Saranatilaka K.V.
95. Uthanowita Punyaratana K.V.
96. Pitigala Junapada K.V.
97. Pitigala K.V.
98. Metiwiliya K.V.
99. Kaluarachchigoda K.V.
100. Indipelagoda K.V.
101. Himbutugoda K.V.

Bentara-Elpitiya: distribution of schools in 1962



established strictly in accordance with needs and having a well-defined inter-relationship;

4. special care should have been taken to avoid the rush from rural areas either through admission regulations or specific development of rural schools;
5. specialist teachers could have been better utilized by assigning them to individual schools large enough to absorb their skills or otherwise to serve a number of smaller neighbouring schools.

Recommendations for the future made by 40 respondents were:

1. School complexes: infant schools should be started in every village. Junior schools should serve several infant schools. The Maha Vidyalayas should serve a specified group of junior schools. Thus there should be a number of self-contained schools complexes in the electorate;
2. school buildings: functionally suitable buildings, utilizing the results of latest researches and studies, should replace the hall-type school buildings that are being built on an antiquated type plan. There should be enclosed classrooms to improve efficiency of learning and teaching;
3. extra-school educational facilities: school should not be viewed as the only place of instruction. Local plantations, factories and workshops also must be brought in as educational facilities of an area. Apart from vocationalizing education such a wide use will relieve congestion in school buildings;
4. maintenance of school properties: parents, staff and pupils must be mobilized to maintain school buildings, furniture and equipment on a voluntary basis. Greater attention should be paid to the security of school properties.

In conclusion, it must be said that in this case much of the objectives and intentions remained unfulfilled in spite of the limited success achieved in restructuring and rationalizing the school system. The failure to obtain the participation of parents, teachers and the public in the entire process proved to be a major constraint. A further methodological shortcoming related to confining the reform to restructuring without embarking on rational location planning through zoning. This had resulted in delaying the evolution of a plan of educational development for the electorate. The numerous concessions made because of local political pressures, in the final analysis, also imposed curtailment on educational development. Taking all these constraints into consideration, it can still be concluded that the re-organization brought about a worthwhile improvement in the distribution and utilization of educational facilities in Bentara-Elpitiya.

APPENDIX I

Reorganization of schools in Gampola Town[1]

The schools in the Gampola Town will be re-organized in the following manner with effect from 1st January, 1962:

1. St. Joseph's Convent, St. Joseph's Boys' School and the Gampola B.T.S. School will be amalgamated to form a large Central School for Girls with facilities to teach Arts and Science in both Sinhala and Tamil media from Std. IV to H.S.C. and University Entrance Form. Girls from Gampola Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Jinaraja College, St. Andrew's Girls' School, St. Joseph's Girls' School, Gampla B.T.S. School and Gampola C.C. School in the IV Std. and above will be admitted to this school. Girls who are promoted to the VI Std. from Wallahagoda Primary School will also be admitted to this School. This Girls' School will be named St. Joseph's Balika Maha Vidyalaya;
2. Gampola Madhya Maha Vidyalaya will be re-organized as a Boys' School with the name Wickremabahu Maha Vidyalaya with facilities to teach Arts and Science in the Sinhala Medium from Std. VI to H.S.C. and University Entrance Form. Arrangements will be made to admit about 700 boys to this Maha Vidyalaya in January 1962;
3. Jinaraja College and St. Andrew's Boys' School will be amalgamated to form a Boys' School with the name Gampola Vidyalaya with classes in Sinhala and Tamil media from Lower Kindergarten to G.C.E. (Ordinary Level);
4. Gampola C.C. School will be re-organized as a Mixed Infant School with classes in Sinhala and Tamil media from Lower Kindergarten to Std. III. It will be called Gangasiripura Infants' School;
5. St. Andrew's Girls' School will be re-organized as a Mixed Infants' School under the name St. Andrew's Infants' School with classes in the Sinhala medium from Lower Kindergarten to Std. III and as a Girls' Hostel;
6. the town section of the Gampola B.T.S. School will be converted into a Vocational School;
7. Zahira College will be a Mixed Collegiate School with classes from Lower Kindergarten to H.S.C. and University Entrance in the Sinhala, Tamil and English media with facilities to teach both Arts and Science. Children of the English stream of St. Joseph's Convent will be transferred to this school. This school will also admit the children promoted to Std. VI from Gampola Rahumaniya Muslim School and Kahatapitiya Muslim School;
8. new buildings will be constructed at the 14-acre block at Sinhapitiya to house Jinaraja College, Gampola, which will be organized from 1st January, 1963 as a Sinhala medium Collegiate School with classes from Lower Kindergarten to H.S.C. and University Entrance Form.

A. TRANSFER OF PUPILS

It should be noted that the above scheme of re-organization necessitates the transfer of children from one school to another. The transfer of the children will be done as follows:

1. Wickremabahu Maha Vidyalaya, Gampola (Madhya Maha Vidyalaya) will provide accommodation for 700 boys in Post Primary and Collegiate Classes. These 700 pupils will be selected on the basis of a competitve test to be held towards the end of November 1961. Boys in the following schools who are qualified to enter Post Primary Classes should sit for this examination: Jinaraja College,

1. Propaganda Leaflet No. 2 (NSC/126)

St. Andrew's Boys' School, St. Joseph's Boys' School, Gampola B.T.S. School, Gampola C.C. School, and Wallahagoda Primary School. The practice of absorbing children from Wallahagoda Primary School direct to Madhya Maha Vidyalaya will cease with effect from this year;

2. the boys who are not selected for admission to Wickremabahu Maha Vidyalaya as well as others will be admitted to Gampola Vidyalaya;
3. the children who will be in the Lower Kindergarten, Upper Kindergarten, Std. II and Std. III in Jinaraja Vidyalaya, St. Joseph's Covent, St. Joseph's Boys' School, Gampola B.T.S. School will be admitted according to the wishes of the parents to either Gangasiripura Infants' School or St. Andrew's Infants' School;
4. girls who will be in Std. IV and above in Gampola Midhya Maha Vidyalaya, Jinaraja College, St. Andrew's Boys' School and Gampola B.T.S. School will be admitted to St. Joseph's Balika Vidyalaya;
5. children in the English medium class at St. Joseph's Convent will be transferred to Zahira College;
6. there will be accommodation for new admissions at Lower Kindergarten level at Zahira College, Gampola Vidyalaya, Gangasiripura Infants' School and St. Andrew's Infants' School.

B. PROCEDURE FOR THE TRANSFER OF PUPILS

1. With regard to pupils who should be transferred to either Gangasiripura or St. Andrew's Infants' School, the wishes of the parents will be obtained. Letters asking for the parents' views will be sent by the Heads of the school in which the pupils are studying at present. According to the replies sent by the parents the pupils will be distributed between the two schools;
2. with regard to other schools the Heads of the school in which the pupil is now studying should give the pupil the pupil's record sheet or 'Q' schedule indicating clearly the school to which the pupil should go next year. At the same time the Cumulative Records, the Birth Certificates and other documents will be sent to the school to which the child is due to go.

(i) Example 1

If a child in the Std. V of St. Joseph's School is to be promoted to Std. VI next year he is eligible to sit for the admission test at Wickremabahu Maha Vidyalaya. But if at this examination he is not selected due to his performance not being sufficiently high he will be admitted to Gampola Vidyalaya. But if the child so desires, he may be admitted to Gampola Vidyalaya directly without a test.

(ii) Example 2

A child in Std. II (Sinhala Medium) of St. Joseph's Covent can be transferred to either Gangasiripura Infants' School or St. Andrew's Infants' School. The Principal of St. Joseph's Convent will write to the parents of the child and inquire the school to which the child should be sent. If the parents desire to admit the child to Gangasiripura Infants' School the pupil's record sheet or 'Q' schedule should be filled accordingly and given to the parent. The Birth Certificate, the Cumulative Records and other documents relating to the child should be sent safely to the Head of Gangasiripura Infants' School.

(iii) Example 3

A girl who is studying in the Std. III at Jinaraja College now and who will be promoted to the Std. IV next year should according to the scheme of re-organization enter the Std. IV, at St. Joseph's Balika Vidyalaya at the end of the term. The Principal of Jinaraja College should fill the pupil's record sheet or 'Q' schedule and hand it over to her indicating that she should report at St. Joseph's Balika Maha Vidyalaya on the 2nd of January, 1962.
At the same time, the Birth Certificate, the Cumulative record sheet and other documents should be dispatched safely to the Principal of St. Joseph's Balika Maha Vidyalaya.

C. FURTHER INFORMATION

If any further clarification is required regarding the scheme of re-organization, the admission tests, the transfer of pupils, etc., Mr. B.L. Ranasinghe, Inspector of Schools, No. 23, Hill Street, Gampola, may be contacted. All comments, suggestions or criticisms of the above proposals may also be addressed to him.
S.F. de Silva, Director of Education, Education Department, Malay Street, Colombo 2.
25th October, 1961.

APPENDIX II

My No. NSC/192
Ministry of Education and
Broadcasting
Sir Ernest de Silva Mawata
Colombo 3,
25 January, 1962

The Assistant Director of Education
North Western Region
Education Office
Madampe

RE-ORGANIZATION OF SCHOOLS WITHIN PUTTALAM TOWN

Please re-organize the schools situated within the limits of the Urban Council, Puttalam, as indicated below and effective from 1 February 1962:

1. P/Zahira College to be a Boys' Maha Vidyalaya in the Tamil Medium with classes from Std. III to H.S.C. in Arts and Science. The College which will be re-named Zahira Maha Vidyalaya will include the following:

a) Boys of the present Zahira College	-	329
b) Boys of the Muslim Maha Vidyalaya	-	368
TOTAL	-	697

2. The present Muslim Maha Vidyalaya to be a Girls' Maha Vidyalaya in the Tamil Medium with classes from L.Kg to H.S.C. in Arts and Science. This school will be re-named P/Fatima Balika Maha Vidyalaya and will take in the following:

a) Girls of Zahira College	-	173
b) Girls of the Muslim Maha Vidyalaya	-	48
c) Girls of the Muslim Girls' School	-	308
TOTAL	-	529

3. The present Muslim Girls' School to be a Boys' Infant School in the Tamil Medium with classes from L.Kg to Std. II. This school will be named P/Zahira Infant School and will take in the following boys:

a) Boys from Zahira College	-	139
b) Boys from the Muslim Maha Vidyalaya	-	270
TOTAL	-	409

4. The present R.C. Tamil and R.C. Sinhalese Schools to be Mixed Tamil School with classes from

L.Kg to G.C.E. This school will be named P/St. Mary's Tamil Vidyalayam and will take in the following Tamil pupils:

a) St. Andrew's	-	106
b) St. Anne's	-	187
c) R.C. Tamil	-	170
TOTAL	-	463

5. St. Andrew's College to be a Boys' Maha Vidyalaya in the Sinhalese Medium with classes from L.Kg to H.S.C. in Arts and Science. The H.S.C. classes will be mixed. This school will be named P/St. Andrew's Boys' Maha Vidyalaya and will take in the following:

a) St. Andrew's	-	167
b) Government Sinhalese School	-	13
c) R.C. Sinhalese Mixed School	-	94
d) St. Anne's	-	32
TOTAL	-	306

6. St. Anne's Girls School to be a Girls' Maha Vidyalaya in the Sinhalese Medium with classes from L.Kg to G.C.E. in Arts and Science. Science Practical Work will be done at St. Andrew's College at the G.C.E. level. This school will be named P/St. Anne's Balika Maha Vidyalaya and will take in the following:

a) St. Anne's	-	113
b) Government Sinhalese School	-	8
c) R.C. Sinhalese School	-	181
TOTAL	-	302

7. The present Government Sinhalese Maha Vidyalaya to be a Mixed Junior School in the Sinhalese Medium with classes from L.Kg to Std. VIII. This school will be re-named P/Ananda Vidyalaya and will take the following composition:

a) Girls	-	122
b) Boys	-	146
TOTAL	-	268

8. You are requested to take action to adjust the staffs of the schools involved in the re-organization so that the schools will have the staffs indicated below:

	Name of teacher	Qualifications	Post	Present school
(a) P/Fatima Balika Maha Vidyalaya:				
(b) P/Zahira Maha Vidyalaya:				
(c) P/Zahira Infant:				
(d) St. Mary's Tamil Vidyalayam:				
(e) St. Andrew's Government Boys' Maha Vidyalaya:				
(f) St. Anne's Balika Maha Vidyalaya:				
(g) P/Ananda Vidyalaya:				

9. Detailed instructions should be given to the Heads of schools in regard to the issue of the School Leaving Certificates, Birth Certificates, etc., of pupils who may be leaving to seek admissions to other schools in the town affected by the re-organization.

10. The following teachers are noted for transfer out of the area as their services are no longer required by the re-organized schools:

x x x x x x x x x

11. You are requested to watch the situation carefully and make any other adjustment of staff considered necessary as a consequence of the re-organization.

12. Please note to send me progress reports every fortnight.

(Signed)
A.W.P. Gurugé
for Permanent Secretary

Copies to:

1. AD(NWR) Kurunogala
2. C/Examinations
3. AD(NWR) Salaries
4. AB Branch
5. TR Branch
6. TP Branch
7. RK Branch
8. ST Branch
9. OM Branch
10. GSA Branch
11. NSA Branch
12. LA Branch
13. TC Branch
14. EG Branch
15. ES Branch
16. TE Branch
17. PHE Branch
18. AC Branch
19. SG Branch
20. P Branch
21. IA Branch
22. SU Branch
23. HA Branch
24. SW Branch
25. GST Branch
26. NST Branch

1. Your kind attention is drawn to Section 10. The Services of the teachers mentioned therein are no longer required. You are requested to transfer them out to other schools which may need them.
2. You are requested to transfer Mr. SMS Ahamed, ETI, Acting Head Master, Government, Muslim Maha Vidyalaya, as Acting Head Master, Government, Muslim Maha Vidyalaya, Kalpitiya.
3. You are also requested to send: 1 Science trained teacher; 1 Math trained teacher; 1 PTI to P/St. Anne's Government Balika Maha Vidyalaya; 3 Sinhalese trained teachers to P/Ananda Government Vidyalaya very early and adjust staff.

APPENDIX III

Particulars of pupils and facilities available as on...

Name of School: Medium:

Class	BOYS Bud.	Hind.	RC	Mus.	Other	Total	GIRLS Bud.	Hind.	RC	Mus.	Other	Total	Grand Total
L.KG													
U.KG													
ii													
TOTAL													
iii													
iv													
v													
TOTAL													
vi													
vii													
viii													
GCE (Pr)													
GCE													
TOTAL													
HSC (Pr)													
HSC													
UE													
TOTAL													
GRAND TOTAL													

Total accommodation of classrooms:
No. of seats available for Kindergarten classes and Std. I;
No. of seats available for Std. VI and upwards;
Extent of land: A.....R.....P.....
Facilities available to teach:
1. Science
2. Home Science
3. Vocational Education

Give the details of the following:
1. Playground
2. Students' Hostel
3. Teachers' Quarters

APPENDIX IV

Particulars of staff as on...

Name of School: Medium:

Name of Teacher	Sex	Age	Religion	Qualifications	Post Held	Permanent Acting or Temp.	Home Station

APPENDIX V

Questionnaire on school re-organization

Your kind co-operation is requested in furnishing answers to the following questions. Please underline the answer where a choice of answers is given. Please be brief where statements are requested. Your name is not required. The purpose of this questionnaire is to study the impact of the re-organization of schools which was undertaken between 1960 and 1964. All replies will be kept confidential.

1. In what way(s) were you connected with the school system which was subjected to re-organization between 1960 and 1964?
   - Education Ministry/Department Office
   - Regional Office Staff
   - Circuit Education Officer
   - Head of a School
   - Teacher
   - Parent
2. How far did your first-hand knowledge of the schools concerned extend?
   - to all schools
   - to some schools
   - to one school only
   - to none
3. (a) Did you express any views on the re-organization proposals?
   - Yes ___ No ___
   (b) If 'yes' how far did they affect the decisions of the Department?
   - fully
   - to some extent
   - not at all
4. If you had any objections or reservations, to what did they basically relate?
   - historical/traditional status of the school
   - sentimental reasons
   - religious grounds
   - convenience of pupils
   - adequacy/suitability of facilities
   - standard of instruction
   - elimination of privileges
   - others (Please specify)
5. If you were in favour of the proposals for re-organization, what were the main features you liked in them?
   - equalization of educational opportunities
   - maximum use of facilities
   - elimination of duplication and overlapping of classes/subject offerings
   - economies in space
   - economies in staff
   - others (Please specify)
6. In retrospect, what do you think of the re-organization?
   - necessary under conditions that existed
   - unnecessary and could have been avoided
   - the same results could have been achieved differently (Please specify your methods)
7. Comparing the conditions before the re-organization and now, what is your assessment of the steps taken?
   - Very satisfactory
   - satisfactory
   - unsatisfactory
8. (a) As a result of the re-organization do you consider that the available resources - human and material - were harnessed to the best advantage?
   - Yes ___ No ___
   (b) If your answer to the above question is 'no', how in your view could it have been achieved?
9. (a) Considering that optimal conditions were not available to provide equal opportunities for all, e.g. physical plant, equipment available, varied from institution to institution - do you consider that anything more could have been done to equalize opportunities and maximize results?
   - Yes ___ No ___
   (b) If your answer is 'yes' could you state what else could have been done?
10. (a) During the decade 1960-1970 do you consider that the outcomes of our educational

effort have been better than during the previous decade 1950-1960?
- Yes ____ No ____

(b) If your answer is 'no' please say how the decade 1950-1960 was more productive.

11. (a) During the decade 1960-1970 do you consider there has been better planning in the provision of educational facilities in the area than in the decade 1950-1960?
- Yes ____ No ____

(b) If the answer is 'no' could you say why you consider the educational provision available in 1950-1960 as being better planned.

12. (a) Has the re-organization resulted in promoting closer and more harmonious relations among pupils and parents of
(i) different social classes
(ii) different religious denominations
(iii) different races
(i) Yes ____ No ____
(ii) Yes ____ No ____
(iii) Yes ____ No ____

(b) If your answer to any of the above is 'no' could you say what evidence there is to the contrary.

13. (a) Did the creation of single sex schools result in:
(i) better discipline and
(ii) the provision of fuller curricular offerrings suited to the sexes?
(i) Yes ____ No ____
(ii) Yes ____ No ____

(b) If your answer to any of the above is 'no' could you state your views briefly hereunder.

14. (a) During the years following implementation of the re-organization were you of the view that the measures adopted should have been different?
- Yes ____ No ____

(b) If your answer is 'yes' could you say specifically what measures in your view would have led to better results.

15. If any steps are to be taken in the future to eliminate wastage and duplication, equalize educational opportunities and optimize the use of available resources, what recommendations will you make?
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____

APPENDIX VI

Progress reports on selected schools subjected to re-organization between 1961 and 1964

1. Present Name of School:
2. Earlier Name, if any:
3. Names of Schools Amalgamated at the Time of Re-organization:
4. Status of the Schools Amalgamated: (e.g. Grade I, II, III, M.V., M.M.V. Sinhala/Tamil, Primary, Junior, Secondary)
5. Original Proprietorship of Schools: (re-assisted schools, state denomination)

A. Enrolments

Class	1960		1961		1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		1968		1969		1970	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
LKG																						
Grade I																						
Grade II																						
Grade III																						
Grade IV																						
Grade V																						
Grade VI																						
Grade VII																						
Grade VIII																						
Grade IX																						
Grade X																						
Grade XI																						
Grade II																						
TOTAL																						

B. Composition of Pupils (linguistic)
Please give the percentage in each case

Medium	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Sinhala											
Tamil											
English											

C. Composition of Pupils (Denominational)
Please give the percentage in each case

Denomination	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Buddhist											
Hindu											
Muslim											
RC											
Non-RC											

D. Class-size – Indicate the number of classes with the following enrolments

Class-size	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Over 60 pupils											
40 – 59 pupils											
30 – 39 pupils											
20 – 29 pupils											
10 – 19 pupils											
Below 10 pupils											

E. Qualifications of the Teaching Staff

Qualification	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Uncertificated											
Certificated											
English Assistant											
General Trained											
Specialist Science											
Specialist Vocational											
Specialist English											
Specialist Commerce											
Specialist Home Science											
Specialist Agriculture											
Inter Sc/Arts											
Arts Graduates											
Science Graduates											
Trained Graduates											

F. Curriculum – Did facilities exist for the teaching of following subjects in the year concerned?
Please answer Yes or No

Subject and Grades	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
General Science - Grades VI - VIII											
Mathematics - Grades VI - VIII											
Mathematics - Grades IX - X											
Mathematics - Grades XI - XII											
Chemistry - Grades IX - X											
Chemistry - Grades XI - XII											
Biology - Grades IX - X											
Botany - Grades XI - XII											
Zoology - Grades XI - XII											
English - Grades III - VIII											
English - Grades IX - X											
English - Grades XI - XII											
Home Science - Grades VI - VIII											
Home Science - Grades IX - X											
Home Science - Grades XI - XII											
Agriculture - Grades VI - VIII											
Agriculture - Grades IX - X											
Comm. Subs. - Grades IX - X											
Comm. Subs. - Grades XI - XII											
Metal Work - Grades VI - VIII											
Metal Work - Grades IX - X											
Wood Work - Grades VI - VIII											
Wood Work - Grades IX - X											
Ceramics - Grades VI - VIII											
Ceramics - Grades IX - X											
Weaving - Grades VI - VIII											
Weaving - Grades IX - X											

G. Buildings and Playgrounds

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
No. of separate class rooms											
Area of school hall(s)											
Total area of teaching space											
School land in acres											
Playgrounds in acres											
School Gardens in acres											

H. Facilities - Indicate in each case the number of pupil places provided in the facility concerned, that is the maximum number of pupils who can use the facility at a time

Science Laboratories:	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
General											
Physics											
Chemistry											
Biology											
Botany											
Zoology											
Workshops: Wood Work											
Metal Work											
Weaving											
Ceramics											
Lacquer											
Commerce Room: Typewriting											
Shorthand											
Home Science Room											
Multi-purpose Room											
Agriculture Unit											
Library Reading Room											
Auditorium											
Hostels: Boys											
Girls											

I. Aesthetic Activities – Did facilities exist for the following in the year concerned?
Answer Yes or No

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Teaching of: Dancing											
Oriental Music											
Western Music											
Art											
School Orchestra											
School Band											
Drama Circle											

J. Co-curricular Activities
Answer Yes or No as in the previous question

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Junior Cadet Platoon											
Senior Cadet Platoon											
Scouting											
Guiding											
Cricket Team											
Soccer Team											
Hockey Team											
Volley Ball Team											
Netball Team											
Badminton Team											
Debating Team											
Library Association											
Science Society											
Radio Club											
Photography Club											
Others:											

Appendix VI

K. Examination Results

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
GCE (OL) No. of Candidates											
No. of Distinctions											
No. of Credits											
No. of Passes											
No. of Failures											
GCE (AL) No. of Candidates											
No. of Distinctions											
No. of Credits											
No. of Passes											
No. of Failures											
No. of students selected for admission to Universities											
No. of students selected for admission to Higher Technical Colleges (e.g. Katubedde Amparai)											
No. of students selected for appointment as pupil teachers and other categories of teachers											

L. Awards

Details of shields, cups, prizes, etc. awarded to the school in Circuit, District or National competitions since 1960: (scholastic achievements, athletics, sports, health, etc.)

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7-9 rue Eugène-Delacroix, 75016 Paris

The IIEP research project on planning the location of schools

The extensive adoption of over-all national educational planning has called for the study of more effective strategies of implementation. School mapping can provide an excellent technique for bridging the gap between planning and implementation, not only for the rationalization of school networks as such but also for the introduction of reforms, the consistent application of national norms and the stimulation of regional participation in the planning process. This last aspect marks an important advance towards controlled decentralization of the educational planning process and, since it is closely involved with economic, social and physical planning, facilitates the achievement of integrated regional planning.

The case studies in this series should accordingly prove equally valuable to educationists and to economists, sociologists, planners and others interested in regional planning or community development.

The book

This case study on the location of schools in Sri Lanka differs from the others in the series in that its focus is not on the preparation of proposals for school network development but rather on the evaluation of the results of reorganizing the school networks of seven locations in the country. It deals with the obstacles actually encountered during the implementation of a major reform programme between 1960 and 1964.

The study highlights the drastic political decisions which the country took in order to remedy the situation created by uncontrolled expansion of the school system and the resulting irrational location of educational institutions. Nationalization and rationalization were seen as the main thrusts to meet these problems.

The study brings out clearly the political dimension in planning and implementing educational reforms, and gives positive evidence of the efficacy of participatory decision-making at the grass-roots level.

The authors

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K.D. Ariyadasa is the Deputy Director-General of Education, Curriculum Development Centre, Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka. He is the author of several publications on the educational system of Sri Lanka.